

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

JUNE, 1950

THE VALUE OF THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY TO THE WORKING MINISTER

By Norman Vincent Pease

THE CHURCH RUSH IN THE GOLD-RUSH: BEGINNINGS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Edward L. Palmer

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE DUTCH IN COLONIAL NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY, 1784

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THE VALUE OF THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY TO THE WORKING MINISTER*

By Norman Victor Hope†

THERE are certain subjects in the curriculum of the theological seminary about whose practical value to the working minister there can be no question. For example, the study of Holy Scripture is clearly necessary for the budding minister, because, even in these days when the Bible is a "reverently unread book," as Hugh Stevenson Tigner calls it, he will be expected to preach from Bible texts; and, as the late Dr. James Denney once said, "a text without its context is nothing but a pretext." Again, the subject of homiletics is obviously important for the seminary student; for though a preacher may speak with the tongues of men and of angels, if he does not have clarity, he is become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. Once more, the study of systematic theology is surely essential for the prospective preacher; for in the last analysis the substance of his pulpit utterance—if it is to be Christian preaching at all—must include those great affirmations and verities with which systematic theology seeks to deal.

But the subject of Church history does not appear to have the same immediate value and usefulness for the working minister. Professor Norman Sykes, Dixie professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Cambridge, for example, says that when he was reading with the late Canon B. H. Streeter for the honor school of theology at Oxford University, Streeter regarded Church history as a dull subject fit only for second-rate men, and did his utmost to persuade Sykes to offer instead a special subject in the philosophy of religion. It is only fair to Canon Streeter to say that he handsomely recanted this heresy later in the introduction to his able and important volume, *The Primitive Church*. But his earlier attitude, I suspect, is not uncommon, even with

*Reprinted by permission from *The Princeton Seminary Bulletin*, Vol. XLI, pp. 5-10.

†This is Dr. Hope's inaugural address at his installation as Archibald Alexander professor of church history in the Princeton Theological Seminary. Dr. Hope is a Scotsman, who received his doctorate from the University of Edinburgh. He was brought to America by the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he served as professor of divinity until his acceptance of his present chair.—*Editor's note*.

some who are deeply interested in ministerial education. So I propose to address myself to this question:

What value may the study of Church History have for the working minister? What useful purpose can it serve, which would justify its inclusion as a compulsory subject in an up-to-date and forward-looking curriculum of seminary studies?

My answer to this question may be summed up thus: While Church history may not furnish the specific subject-matter of Christian preaching from week to week—except, of course, by way of telling illustration—yet if diligently studied and properly understood it will greatly enrich the preacher's insight into God's purposes for mankind and His saving revelation in Jesus Christ. It will deepen the preacher's understanding of the meaning of that Christian message which it is his business to proclaim. Thus it will make him a more persuasive and fruitful herald of the Christian Gospel. The late Bishop W. A. Quayle, of the Methodist Church, once said:

"Preaching is the art of making a sermon and delivering it? No. That is not preaching. Preaching is the art of making a preacher and delivering *that* . . . the amassing of a great soul, so as to have something worthwhile to give. . . . The sermon is the preacher up to date."¹

If Bishop Quayle is right—as surely he is—the study of Church history has a value for the minister of the highest possible kind.

I

For one thing, the study of Church history will give the Christian preacher a fuller understanding of many of the great affirmations which it is his privilege to expound, and likewise of many problems which confront the Christian Church today. It was a favorite, almost a fundamental, dictum of the great Oxford historian and churchman, Bishop William Stubbs, that "the roots of the present lie deep in the past"—a truth put in a somewhat different form by the more recent Oxford historian, Professor H. W. C. Davis, when he said that "however slight the fibres by which the present is rooted in the past, to observe them is to realize the continuity of human development—the most important, the most obvious, and the most neglected of the lessons that history can teach."²

There are many applications of this lesson in the field of Church

¹W. A. Quayle, quoted in *Advance*, February, 1946.

²H. W. C. Davis, *Medieval Europe*, p. 110.

history. For instance, Christian doctrine as it has come to be formulated is the end-product of a long process of change and development; and it can be understood fully only in the light of this development. The late Dr. Thomas M. Lindsay, the eminent Scottish Church historian, once put this truth to a group of theological students thus:

"During the Middle Ages modern Europe was born and slowly grew on towards manhood. There, if you only look well, you will find that modern theology was cast into the particular shape it now assumes and acquired the particular terminology which distinguishes it. You cannot adequately comprehend the precise meaning and limits of almost any theological proposition unless you know the medieval history of the doctrine."³

Take a concrete example. In many Christian Churches the Nicene Creed—which, of course, goes back even further than the Middle Ages—is repeated, if not every Sunday, at least on stated occasions. But it is quite impossible really to understand that Creed, especially its terminology, without knowing the history of that intense and even fierce process of development which finally produced and sanctioned it.

If it is true that only Church history can provide a full understanding of Christian theology, it is equally true that only Church history can give clear illumination on some of the important problems which perplex the Christian Church today. The late Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson, that eminent English Baptist scholar, once said:

"It is impossible for any man to understand and deal intelligently with some of the living issues today about the reunion of the Churches unless he knows something of the origins of the present differences. What is the historic episcopate? Why did the Free Churches arise? Why are the Churches of England so different from those of Scotland and Ireland? These are questions unanswerable without a sound knowledge of history. And I must freely confess," he went on to say, "that one of the chief criticisms I have to make on the results of ministerial education generally is its lack of historical perspective. Again and again I have been at ministerial conferences in which half the room did not know what the other half were talking about, for want of a vision of history in its true order, in its social relations, in its progress from point to point."⁴

Robinson, of course, was dealing primarily with the situation in England, which he knew so well; but his observations, *mutatis mutandis*, are just as true of and as relevant to the United States of America.

³Thomas M. Lindsay, *College Sermons and Addresses*, p. 97.

⁴E. A. Payne, "The Making of a Minister," in *Henry Wheeler Robinson*, pp. 136-7.

II

Again, the study of Church history can teach, with a richness and concreteness not otherwise to be attained, the meaning of the providence of God in relation to the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Take two illustrations:

(A) Paul has a great sentence in Galatians, 4:4, to the effect that "when the fulness of the time was come God sent forth His Son." Church history can expound that phrase, "the fulness of the time," most impressively; for the Graeco-Roman world at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ was uniquely prepared to receive Him and His message. The practical genius of Rome had conquered the civilized world of that day and organized it into a great empire, throughout which the *Par Romana* prevailed. It had covered this vast empire with excellent roads, radiating from Rome, the capital city, like spokes from the hub of a wheel. Within this empire, the language commonly spoken was the Greek *koiné*, in which the New Testament is written—a language sufficiently rich and flexible as to be capable of expressing the very loftiest thoughts of God.

The moral and spiritual condition of that world into which Jesus was born has been described by Matthew Arnold in his well-known lines:

On that hard pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell;
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

If later research has tended to modify this picture somewhat, it has established the fact that many inhabitants of the Roman Empire of that day were longing for a redemption which their ancestral faiths, and even the more recently imported mystery-religions, could not adequately satisfy. Could the ground have been better prepared for the seed of the Christian Gospel?

(B) Again, it has frequently been remarked in recent years that God was providentially preparing his Church against the outbreak of World War II. The late Dr. William Temple, at his enthronement as archbishop of Canterbury in 1942, expressed this conviction with his usual felicity and insight thus:

"As though in preparation for such a time as this, God has been building up a Christian fellowship which now extends into almost every nation, and binds citizens of them all together in true unity and mutual love. No human agency has planned this. It is the result of the great missionary enterprise of the last one hundred and fifty years. Neither the missionaries nor those who sent them out were aiming at the creation of a world-wide fellowship interpenetrating the nations, bridging the gulfs between them, and supplying the promise of a check to their rivalries. The aim for nearly the whole period was to preach the Gospel to as many individuals as could be reached so that those who were won to discipleship should be put in the way of eternal salvation. Almost incidentally the great world-fellowship has arisen; it is the great new fact of our era. . . ."⁵

This world-wide Christian fellowship has survived the hideous disruption of global war; and it surely affords striking evidence of that divine providence which keeps watch above its own.

III

The study of Church history can demonstrate, as perhaps nothing else can, the real meaning of the universality of Jesus Christ. In the New Testament, Jesus is reported to have made certain affirmations and predictions concerning the widespread appeal which His Gospel would make. For example, He said that the field for His Gospel was "the world,"⁶ and He foretold that if He were lifted up, He would "draw all men" to Himself.⁷ Such statements as these the Christian Church has, of course, always taken on faith, not only because they are part of the New Testament record, but also because the rich experience of pardon, peace, and power, which Christian believers have found in their Lord Jesus Christ, by its very nature must make the most powerful kind of appeal to all races of mankind. But only Church history can show how abundantly and triumphantly such faith has been justified and confirmed in actual experience.

Indeed, only recent Church history can show it fully; for down to about the beginning of the nineteenth century, Christianity had established itself solidly and lastingly only on the continents of Europe, North America, and South America. It is only during the last century and a

⁵William Temple, *The Church Looks Forward*, p. 2.

⁶Matthew 13:38.

⁷John 12:32.

half that the Christian faith has been planted with any degree of stability in Asia, Africa, and Australia. But the important point is that this has been done: Christianity has established itself, or at any rate has sunk its roots, virtually all over the world, except in Afghanistan; and already it is showing vigorous life practically everywhere. This means that, in the concrete realm of history and experience, Jesus Christ has proved that He has a universal appeal to all sorts and conditions of men, an appeal which transcends all differences of class, color, and caste.

Not only so; but the Christians of the so-called "Younger Churches," i. e., those whose Christianity is of comparatively recent acceptance, have been discovering meanings and values in Jesus Christ which had been unperceived or overlooked by Western Christianity. Thus Church history provides a most illuminating commentary on Jesus Christ's claim to universality—a commentary which, once understood, cannot but enrich and confirm Christian faith.

IV

The study of Church history can supply a cordial for drooping spirits. That is to say, anyone who is deeply concerned for the advance of the Christian faith in the world must sometimes have moments of depression. As he reflects on the fact that, despite such signal progress as has been registered by the great modern missionary movement, the kingdoms of this world are still very far from being the kingdom of our God and of His Christ, he may be tempted to discouragement and pessimism. In such circumstances, he may be disposed to conclude that "the former days were better than these," to see the previous ages of the Christian Church through rose-colored spectacles, and thus to idealize the Church's past.

But only the ignorant and unthinking will thus idealize the past record of the Christian Church. The careful and well-informed student, who can view the whole story in what John Dryden called "the firm perspective of history," will realize quite well that at no time in its strange and eventful history has the Christian Church been anything like perfect, a collection of plaster-saints whose hearts were "twice as good as gold and twenty times as mellow." Thus, the Church of the Apostolic Age has sometimes been so idealized by Christians of a later day. But Dr. Kirsopp Lake—who is no mean student of the New Testament, however widely one may dissent from some of his more radical conclusions—once said to a group of theological students that "it must be a great

comfort to any modern minister to realize that, no matter how bad his parish may be, the one which St. Paul had in Corinth was worse."⁸

Again, the thirteenth century has sometimes been held up for admiration as that period in the Christian era in which the Christian Church was at its strongest and best and most vital. That it was in some respects a great century, producing men like Dante, St. Francis, St. Louis, and St. Thomas Aquinas, there can be no doubt; this has been freely admitted by the great Anglican Church historian, Bishop Mandell Creighton, as well as by Roman Catholic scholars. But, as Principal Hugh Watt, of New College, Edinburgh, has pointed out, this same thirteenth century had much in it which was utterly contrary to the mind of Jesus Christ.

"In practice," he says, "the century was one of incessant warfare. The struggle never halted on the frontiers of Christendom. The East saw Crusade after Crusade. . . . Even within Christendom there was constant feud between Church and Empire. For a time an Emperor, Frederick II, who was in many quarters regarded as an incarnation of anti-Christ, chastised the Church with scorpions. The Church itself was using the forceful methods of the Crusades against heretics in Southern France, and against heathen in Prussia. Every land was torn by local and private wars. Looking exclusively at the architectural monuments that remain from this great century of building, and the achievements of its outstanding heroes of faith, men are apt to forget the barbarities, cruelties, uncertainties, and desolations from the midst of which they sprang."⁹

The well-informed student of Church history will be delivered from all temptation to idealize the past, to glorify it at the expense of the present.

V

The final lesson which the study of Church history teaches may be stated in the words of Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette:

"So far as past experience goes to show, the influence of Jesus is perpetuated through some continuing community of Christians, one which is avowedly and specifically Christian. That is, it goes on only through what in the broad sense of that term is a church."¹⁰

⁸Quoted by W. L. Sperry, *Religion in America*, p. 244.

⁹Hugh Watt, *Representative Churchmen of Twenty Centuries*, p. 160.

¹⁰K. S. Latourette, *The Unquenchable Light*, p. 123.

There was a time—not so long since—when it was widely supposed that the essence of Christianity was a personal—almost, so to speak, a perpendicular—relationship between the individual soul and its Saviour Jesus Christ—the kind of thing which Robert Browning doubtless had in mind when he wrote his well-known line, “Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure.” “Thy soul and God”—Christianity was thought to deal mainly, if not exclusively, with these two entities. This point of view tied in closely with Dr. Alfred North Whitehead’s much-quoted description of religion as “what a man does with his own solitariness.” The study of Church history, however, shows conclusively that, while, of course, Christian experience concerns most vitally the soul and its Saviour, Jesus Christ, this experience is not to be gained—as Luther once put it—“all by oneself in a corner.” On the contrary, conversion to Christianity in the New Testament sense takes place through personal contact with the organized society of Christian believers, with the Church, which is His body, and which exists to proclaim His Gospel. It is through this group, through this continuing fellowship of Christ’s followers, that His influence is perpetuated and His message of salvation made vital and meaningful in human lives.

As has already been indicated, no discerning student of the history of the Christian Church will pretend for one moment that it has ever been free from error and sin. Rather, it must be sorrowfully confessed that its record has all too frequently been marred by departure from the mind and spirit of its King and Head, Jesus Christ. But despite such failure and shortcoming, Christ’s promised presence has never been lacking from His Church. The late Bishop J. B. Lightfoot—one of the illustrious trio of Cambridge Biblical scholars of the later nineteenth century—concluded his famous “Dissertation on the Christian Ministry,” in his commentary on *St. Paul’s Epistle to the Philippians*, with an impressive and authoritative statement of this truth. Bishop Lightfoot freely admitted what he called “the many and protracted scandals of Ecclesiastical History—the extravagant claims of the hierarchy, the exorbitant pretensions of the papacy, the secularization of the Christian ministry, the anarchy of sectarianism.” But he went on to say:

“To those who take a comprehensive view of the progress of Christianity, even these more lasting obscurations of the truth will present no serious difficulty. They will not suffer themselves to be blinded thereby to the true nobility of Ecclesiastical History; they will not fail to see that, even in the seasons of her deepest degradation, the Church was still the regenerator of society, the upholder of right principle against selfish interest,

the visible witness of the Invisible God; they will thankfully confess that, notwithstanding the pride and selfishness and dishonor of individual rulers, notwithstanding the imperfections and errors of special institutions and developments, yet in her continuous history the Divine promise has been signally realized, 'Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"¹¹

Such, then, is something of the value which the study of Church history can have for the working Christian minister. Interestingly enough, the so-called "Younger Churches" are very much alive to its importance. At the Madras Conference of 1938, they expressed themselves on this question as follows:

"We call the attention of all theological and missionary training institutions to the importance for missionaries of the study of Church History—for guidance and warning from the past, for the development of a right church-consciousness in the Younger Church, and for the approach to Church Union."¹²

This striking plea is one to which all ministerial students—whether preparing for the home ministry or for the foreign field—and all theological seminaries would do well to pay close heed, if they wish to achieve their maximum usefulness in the realization of the Kingdom of God.

¹¹J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (12th ed., London, 1913), pp. 268-9.

¹²*Life of the Church*, Madras Series, Vol. 4, p. 257.

**THE CHURCH RUSH IN THE GOLD RUSH:
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN
SAN FRANCISCO**

*By Edward L. Parsons**



WE have gazed so long on the moral turpitude of the San Franciscans that both eye and mind would turn away pained if they could dwell on no more pleasant sights. Happily the long record of vice and immorality (the black pages of our diary) has a bright and noble counterpart like the gold dust among the muddy atoms of our river beds that redeems our character from wholesale condemnation."

Thus, after six hundred pages, the famous *Annals of San Francisco*, published in 1855, begins its chapter dealing with the churches and religion. The six hundred pages did actually tell of other and more respectable community matters than gambling, drinking, banditry, prostitution, and the like; but San Francisco in those early days was a wild and wide-open town.

When the American forces occupied it in 1846, it was only a village, a few straggling houses at the head of a cove five miles in from the Golden Gate and the Spanish Presidio, and four miles from the Mission Dolores off to the south. San Francisco was the name of the great bay—the little village was Yerba Buena; the American alcalde changed the name to ensure that ships destined for the bay would make the little village their landing place.

But nothing much happened until the discovery of gold in the foothills of the Sierra in 1848. The news spread; the gold rush of '49 began. San Francisco became overnight world famous. A hundred vessels soon lay at anchor, deserted by their crews who were off to the mines. On the way and coming back with their gold, they and the passengers they had brought swarmed over the little town. They gambled; they drank; groups of them organized for robbery; knives and pistols hung from every man's belt; murders were daily occurrences; and the forces of law and order seemed powerless. Indeed, two years later the situation had become so bad that the first vigilance committee

*The author is the retired bishop of California and an associate editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.—*Editor's note.*

got to work. It hanged some of the worst characters; it drove many out of town; it brought a semblance of law and order, although it was not until 1856 that the second and more famous committee succeeded at last in putting the decent people in real control.

For there were decent people, as the compilers of the *Annals* indicate. There were men and women (only a few women in the population of males) who had not left their religious faith and their morals in their old homes. With the gold rush came missionaries likewise; some sent out by their church boards; some pioneers "on their own." Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics appear. A Presbyterian minister is appointed official chaplain of the little city, not as novel in those days as it seems to us today. And among them came the two Episcopal clergymen who ministered to the first permanent congregations and whose story we have now to tell.

THE REVEREND JOHN L. VER MEHR, PH. D.

The story takes us back first to Belgium and a small boy whose earliest recollection is watching the remnants of Napoleon's Grand Army retreating, defeated, from Russia, marching through his Netherlands' home. His name was John Leonard Ver Mehr.¹ His family had for two centuries been of note in the Low Countries. The famous Don John of Austria was an ancestor. Relatives and friends were among the highest in the land.

There came Napoleon's downfall, the Grand Alliance, the disturbing revolutionary movements which culminated in 1848, and, as part of them, the break-up of the Low Countries, and the establishment of Holland and Belgium as separate kingdoms. It was in all this turmoil that young Ver Mehr grew up. After Napoleon's fall, his father and mother, differing in political faith, separated, the family was divided, and "Leno" went with his father, who for the rest of his life was more or less a political refugee.

It would be interesting to follow the story as Dr. Ver Mehr tells it in his autobiography, *A Checkered Life*, published in San Francisco in his later years. That we cannot do here, save in outline. The boy was brilliant. With more or less haphazard schooling, he went finally to the University of Leyden and graduated with the highest honors.

¹JOHN LEONARD VER MEHR was born in Namur, Belgium, February 8, 1809, and died in San Francisco, California, January 18, 1886, in his 77th year.

He had, in the meanwhile, fought in the war in which Belgium freed herself from the House of Orange and became independent. He fought well enough to win a commission. But his interests were not in military affairs. He was a scholar and a teacher. He loved people. He loved to talk and to teach. For two years, he was tutor in one of the noble families of Holland. The two boys who were his charges, and the singularly fine parents, filled his heart. Next came his own school, in which for a time his mother helped him. This was in The Hague, and he saw much of the court. But there were strange vicissitudes, apparently due at times to the young teacher's highly emotional make-up, at other times to politics.

In the meanwhile, two important things had happened to him. The first was his conversion while tutoring after he left the university. He had, of course, been brought up in the Reformed faith of his family; but it seems to have meant little to him until, quite suddenly, his soul became oppressed with a sense of his sinfulness, his need of a mediator to bring him to God, and the full meaning of salvation in Christ was revealed. It was, he says, "a day-break in my soul." It was a fundamental faith which never failed him in spite of many doubts about religion as he saw it lived around him, of many perplexities, and of his ultimate change to the Episcopal Church.

One of the things lacking in his own story, as he tells of the religious conflicts of his time and his own part in them, is any adequate discussion of the theological questions involved. There were still Calvinists, rigid as ever. There were still Arminians. There was still Rome. But one gets no picture of what was really happening; and perhaps it is not necessary, for one does get a clear enough picture of the young man whose soul was perpetually in trouble.

The other important event was a visit to Switzerland, where he not only had the rare privilege of being received by a famous preacher and Evangelical leader of the time,² but of becoming his friend and of falling in love in an odd, distant kind of way with his daughter, Melinda. The spiritual tie with the father was warm and lasting, but when later he asked by letter for the hand of Melinda, she quite naturally declined. She scarcely knew him, and guessed that he was in love with love rather than with her. Fortunately for him, not much later he was brought into contact with a family which he and his people had known well in the earlier, happier days, and there he found one of the little daughters had grown into a charming young woman. She became his loyal, helpful and unselfish wife.

²Ver Mehr does not give the name of this Evangelical leader.

Leno's career was certainly "checkered." He suffered frequently from serious illness. He seems to have been in high favor at one moment, at another frowned upon by the authorities. His school in The Hague flourished, and then, for reasons which are not explained, permission to continue it was withdrawn. He migrated to France, then to Belgium, where he established himself, or rather took over an already established school in a suburb of Brussels. Again came trouble, and finally, with the full approval of his wife, they decided to try their fortune in the New World.

The voyage was uncomfortable. New York and American ways were strange; but they had good letters, were kindly received, and Dr. Ver Mehr found work as a teacher. Great good fortune brought him ultimately to Bishop George Washington Doane's school, St. Mary's Hall, at Burlington, New Jersey. The bishop became his warm and interested friend, and one needs nothing further in order to understand how before long Ver Mehr began to question his former religious opinions, to wonder about the validity of the ministry of the Church of his fathers, and ultimately to turn to Bishop Doane and ask to be received into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was baptized as well as confirmed before going on to take orders. At the time, quite in keeping with his emotional instability, having decided that the Episcopal Church was *the* Church, Rome and Protestantism being alike in error, he wanted to start completely afresh in his Christian life, going even to the length, as he says, of denying "my own baptism and that of all my ancestors."

Later in life, he regretted his action. But for the moment the lines had fallen to him in pleasant places. He was ordained in 1846,^a served as curate in St. Mary's Church, Burlington, with marked success, became interested in the stories now beginning to circulate of the fabulous future of California, and realized that it would offer a great opportunity for sincere and devoted missionary work. When it became known that the Board of Missions had received a request from a group of Episcopalians in San Francisco to send them a minister, Ver Mehr, again with the full support of his wife, let it be known he would be willing to go. Bishop Doane disapproved (bishops sometimes act that way), and a serious break seemed likely. But the bishop forgave the impetuous and foolish young man, Commodore Stockton offered to see to the passage (by way of Panama) of the Ver Mehr family, and all

^aOrdained deacon, June 7, 1846; priest, September 19, 1847; both ordinations by Bishop George W. Doane. [*New Jersey Diocesan Journals*, 1847, 1848.]

was settled for them to leave in November of '48. And then, alas, Leno came down with smallpox, and it was February, 1849, before he and his family embarked on the *George Washington* for the long voyage around the Horn.

Stockton was no longer willing to help, but why he changed his mind, and why the Cape Horn route was chosen, does not seem clear. It is clear, however, that not only his bishop had disapproved of his going, but apparently other influential persons were doubtful. "You are not the man to go" was said to him by more than one. Presumably, they feared that his short acquaintance with American life and his foreign accent would constitute a real difficulty. But the Board had agreed, and off went Ver Mehr and his family. A crowded ship, many undesirables lured only by California gold, threats from pirates, weeks of storm at the Cape, a brief, pleasant, restful few days at Valparaiso, and at last, after six trying months at sea, they landed in San Francisco, and were welcomed by the little group of laymen who had been waiting so long to see the missionary sent by the Board. They were welcomed, but with the welcome came also news which, to say the least, was disconcerting; another missionary had arrived; an Episcopal Church had been already organized; the city was small, the population shifting and unstable. What was the missionary of the Board to do?

The other missionary was the Rev. Flavel S. Mines. What seems to have happened was that some of the Church people in San Francisco had heard that Mr. Mines would think favorably of a call to San Francisco. Friends in the East commended him. The doubt about Ver Mehr's suitability must have been a factor in the case, although, so far as I know, there is no direct statement to that effect. The Board's missionary had embarked on the long voyage around the Horn. Those Californians were impatient. Support was promised. Mines was enthusiastic. He yielded to the urging and, going by the much shorter Panama route, reached San Francisco in June of 1849.

There had been occasional services of the Episcopal Church before his arrival. Chaplain Leavenworth had come with the American fleet, had remained and had become an important figure in the little town (a street bears his name), but we hear of no regular services conducted by him or by any others until Mines arrived. Immediately upon his arrival, the group which had called him proceeded to organize Holy Trinity Church, which shortly after dropped the adjective and has been known as Trinity ever since. The special dates are July 8 and 22, 1849, and Trinity Church has this past year celebrated its centennial.

THE REVEREND FLAVEL SCOTT MINES

Now Flavel Mines was an interesting person.⁴ He was about thirty-eight years of age, approximately three years younger than Ver Mehr. He was of old American stock, an eloquent preacher in the rhetorical style of a century ago, a devout and devoted Christian gentleman. He was of fine quality, serious, clear thinking—all that is more than evident in his portrait. He had had none of the handicaps which his foreign birth brought Ver Mehr. Nor had he had any such interesting and exciting experiences as had fallen to the lot of the latter. But they shared one important intellectual and spiritual experience. Both had found their way from communions which inherited Calvinism into the Anglican Communion. Ver Mehr was brought up in the Reformed Church of Holland; Mines, in the American Presbyterian Church.

Mines recorded his experience in a book with the imposing title, *A Presbyterian Clergyman Looking for the Church*.⁵ I have spoken of him as clear thinking, and one hesitates a little about that as he opens the book. It is long. It is diffuse. It is full of flowing and eloquent passages. No one today would expect the public to be interested in the story he tells as he tells it. But after all, the trouble is

⁴FLAVEL SCOTT MINES (December 21, 1811-August 5, 1852) was born in Leesburg, Virginia, the son of the Rev. John Mines, D. D., a Presbyterian minister of Virginia. Graduated from the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1831, and was ordained an evangelist by the presbytery of the District of Columbia, June, 1832. Seamen's chaplain at Havre, France, 1832-34; assistant pastor, the English Congregational Church, Paris, France, 1834-35; pastor of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church, New York City, 1835-40. Ordained deacon, April 3, 1842, and priest, November 27, 1842, in the Episcopal Church, by Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk of New York. After a short term of service as assistant to the Rev. Dr. James Milnor, rector of St. George's Church, New York City, he became rector of St. Paul's Church in the Danish island of St. Croix, West Indies. Failing health compelled him to return to a northern climate, and he was for a short time rector of St. Luke's Church, Rossville, Staten Island, New York. Founder and rector of Trinity Church, San Francisco, 1849, until his death.

Two sons entered the ministry: (1) JOHN FLAVEL MINES (January 27, 1835-November 5, 1891), after graduating from Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, and Berkeley Divinity School, was ordered deacon, June 7, 1857, by Bishop Williams of Connecticut; (2) FLAVEL SCOTT MINES, 11 (July 24, 1843-September 14, 1878), after graduating from Trinity College and the General Theological Seminary (1865), was ordered deacon, July 2, 1865, by Bishop Horatio Potter of New York. [Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, edited by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (New York, 1894), Vol. IV, 336; also data kindly supplied by Dr. Norman V. Hope from the *Princeton Seminary Biographical Catalogue*.]

⁵The edition of 1853 (580 pages), published after the author's death, states on the title page: "FIFTH THOUSAND." The first edition was published in 1849 or 1850.

On page 29, Mines states that of the 285 persons ordained by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern Diocese (1811-1843), "207 are from other denominations"; and that "some have computed, two-thirds at least of the Episcopal clergy throughout the land, were once dissenters by their baptism or their education."

with the rhetoric, not with the thinking, even if we disagree with his conclusions. He knows where he is going and why he is going. His approach to the problem is fundamentally historic, in good Anglican tradition. He says that Episcopacy is not the real trouble. Presbyterianism and Protestantism generally have missed the meaning of continuity; but because Episcopacy has kept its continuity, it "has a destiny which Presbyterianism has not, a destiny as Catholic as the family of man."

Of course, he works and thinks under the limitations set by his age. He, like Dr. Ver Mehr, sees things in black and white. "Either—or" dominates his thinking, and like Ver Mehr when he makes the change to the ministry of the Episcopal Church, he wants to start at the beginning and be baptized. The "either—or" principle held control with most ecclesiastics of those days. As a consequence, the High Churchmen were, as I have said of Bishop Kip, lonely souls. Rome was completely wrong on the one side and Protestantism on the other. They had often the pleasantest relations with both Roman priests and Protestant ministers; but both were wrong. The Church alone was right, and that meant the Protestant Episcopal Church. We must remember that this was long before the day of Church councils, of conferences, of unity movements. Denominations were sharply cut off from one another. The Ecumenical Movement belonged to a later generation.

And so Flavel Mines came to San Francisco to preach the Gospel as he believed this Church had received it. He helped the small group of loyal laymen who had called him to organize a parish, and then one day there sailed in through the Golden Gate the good ship *George Washington*, and Leonard Ver Mehr landed, eager to undertake the work with which the official Board had entrusted him. What was to be done about it? What did happen is a striking witness to the power of Christian love and consideration, even if it seems to us extraordinarily poor Christian strategy. There was no ill feeling. Every one recognized that neither clergyman was responsible for the situation. They talked over the possibility of one of the two going to Sacramento or to one of the mining towns to work. Mines' people would not let him go. Ver Mehr's people felt that he must stay where the Board had sent him. In the end they decided that the proper solution was to start a new parish. Grace Church was organized, land was secured through the generosity of Frank Ward, at whose home Dr. Ver Mehr and his family had stayed as welcome guests on their arrival.

Apparently, however, in spite of the generally cordial feeling, the two parishes did not keep each other informed of their real estate plans, with the result that the two *first* churches found themselves on the

same block: Grace Church on Powell Street at or near the corner of Jackson, Trinity a little further up the hill to the south. Fortunately, the Trinity building was regarded as altogether temporary and shortly after it moved to a sightlier home on Pine Street east of Kearny—six blocks away. But there is every evidence of good feeling. During the months while the little Grace Church was building and the congregation organized, Dr. Ver Mehr often helped in the services at Trinity. He tells of supplying when his friend Mines was sick. The congregation was worshipping then in a hall which rejoiced in the name of the Kremlin. One cannot help wondering what the un-American Activities Committee would do with such a congregation today. Indeed, if the committee knew about it, they might perhaps decide that Trinity's congregation must be subversive by inheritance. But at any rate, the most cordial relations existed between the two churches, and the two ministers became devoted friends.

But this story of beginnings is not quite completed. There were several other clergymen who had reached California during 1850. Augustus Fitch, an elderly and kindly gentleman from the "Sandwich Islands"; Richard F. Burnham, of New Jersey, who had started work in Sacramento; Thaddeus M. Leavenworth, R. Townsend Huddart, Samuel Moorehouse, enough to make Ver Mehr and Mines, who were the obvious leaders, begin to think about the future. As they considered the matter, there came the cheerful and encouraging news from New York that the Board of Missions felt that California was no longer missionary ground! If it could take care of itself, how was it to be done?

Ver Mehr tells of one little incident which, although Bishop Kip seemed to think it of consequence, was apparently only a casual suggestion. Mines was a sick man. He died of "consumption" two years later. Ver Mehr tells of sitting by his bedside and, as they talked, Mines recalled to him the fact that there were Russian churches and a Russian bishop further up the coast. The orders of the Orthodox Church were beyond question. Why should not the Episcopal Church in California get its orders from that historic source? It was a natural enough remark. New York was far away. The Church on the Atlantic Coast had turned them loose. Why not?

But what they did was nothing of the kind. They had no intention of cutting themselves off from the Episcopal Church, and in July, 1850, a convention was held—a half dozen clergymen and seven laymen. They were ambitious. They organized a diocese. They provided by canon for a theological school, a college, a "presbyterium" for retired clergy, a "sanctuarium" for widows. Loyal to their doctrinal position, they spoke

in these canons of the *Church* in California; and sure of the future of California, they proceeded to elect a bishop. Mines had one vote; Ver Mehr had two; but the convention chose Bishop Horatio Southgate, who had recently retired from his somewhat abortive mission to Greece.

The bishop declined his election, as was natural enough, and the little diocese struggled along with no leadership waiting eagerly for a bishop. Small groups of Church people organized in Sacramento and in some of the new mining towns. In San Francisco, Ver Mehr and Mines continued their leadership and their warm friendship until, on August 5, 1852, Mines died. The conditions they faced were eloquently described by the latter in his sermon preached at the opening of the new Trinity Church in January, '52. "Instead of adorning it (San Francisco) with Churches," he says, "we have dotted it with gambling rooms; instead of brightening it with schools, we have blackened it with prisons; instead of crowning it with altars, we have degraded it with scaffolds" (referring, of course, to the work of the first vigilance committee). But in spite of all this, "A brighter day is coming. Nations shall yet see the Agnus Dei waving in our banners on the mountains." Mines' faith held through his long illness. Ver Mehr's faith held through many troubles which lie beyond the scope of this paper.⁶

Their hopes were at last fulfilled, although Mines did not live to see the fulfillment. In 1853, the little diocese sent two deputies to the General Convention. They were not given seats because the diocese had not put in its canons the pledge of loyalty to the "doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church." The Convention did not give the deputies seats, but they did give California a missionary bishop. William Ingraham Kip (1811-1893) was elected and consecrated immediately at the close of the Convention on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day, October 28, 1853. He says it all came so suddenly that he never received an official notice of his election nor did he ever formally accept. But he did accept, took ship in December of '53, and arrived in San

⁶Suffice to quote here: "Soon after the adjournment of the convention [of 1853], Dr. Ver Mehr partially severed his relations with Grace Church, and went to Sonoma to establish a school for girls. By arrangement with the vestry, he was to retain the rectorship for a year, coming down to the city for alternate Sundays. This school, 'St. Mary's Hall,' was for some time very successful as the only young ladies' seminary of high grade in the state. Four years afterwards, it was removed to San Francisco. While in Sonoma, Dr. Ver Mehr and his talented and devoted wife were called upon to part with four of their five daughters, victims of diphtheria, in one week, an affliction which was borne by them both with characteristic Christian grace and humility. . . .

"Dr. Ver Mehr lived till January 18, 1886, when he died in San Francisco, at the time the oldest priest, by residence, in California, honored and beloved." [D. O. Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California, from 1849 to 1914* (San Francisco, 1915), p. 19.]

Francisco on January 29, 1854. The first period of the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in California was over.

Three brief comments may be made in conclusion: The first is the reminder that in all these small beginnings laymen played an important part. The names of men like Frank Ward and Col. J. D. Stevenson, H. P. Babcock and Philo H. Perry, David S. Turner and C. V. Gillespie, should not be forgotten as we tell the story of their clerical leaders. The second is to note the fact that the diocese of California was never a missionary district, just as the state of California was never a territory. Both took their places in their respective areas without any period of tutelage. And that fairly unique fact leads to another: Bishop Kip was elected a missionary bishop and sent out to a diocese which considered itself independent and quite competent to choose its own bishop. But the diocese welcomed him. The somewhat anomalous situation yielded to the bishop's charm and tact and the longing of the diocese for a bishop. Three years later, he was duly elected by the diocese which he was to serve for another full generation.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE DUTCH IN
COLONIAL NEW YORK AND NEW
JERSEY—1664-1784

*By Nelson R. Burr**

PART I

THE establishment of the Episcopal Church in New York and New Jersey was deeply and permanently influenced by the fact that the region was so long known as "New Netherland." In most other colonies the majority of the early settlers were at least English-speaking, although dissent from her doctrine and ritual sometimes made them shun their ancient mother, the Church of England. Even the New England Puritan, however firmly rooted in "Independency," sometimes knew and quietly cherished the sonorous phrases of the Book of Common Prayer. To most Virginians and to a large number of Marylanders and Carolinians, the old Church was *home*. They would not be wedded, or have their children christened, without her rites. As far as possible their churches followed the style of the old country; and although distorted by new circumstances, their parish government was according to English traditions. Though the people doubtless were less submissive to authority than on the old soil, they were not entire strangers to the Anglican parson. Their speech was heavy with the fresh bloom of the American frontier, but the stem was recognizable.

But when the Episcopalian officials and chaplains arrived with the bloodless conquest of New Netherland, in 1664, they found the Hudson and the Raritan very different from the Connecticut, the Potomac, and the James. Instead of the Anglo-Saxon village and plantation, speaking a somewhat American version of English, they found a hustling young city trying to rival mother Amsterdam in being very commercial and speaking about twenty tongues—Holland Dutch, Flemish, Walloon French, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and several Indian languages. Even changing its name to New York did not make it appear a bit less foreign.

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Governor Stuyvesant and some of the Dutch clergy were willing to have New Netherland strictly Reformed, but when the English took over, the religious pattern was highly miscellaneous. Besides the Reformed Church, there were also Lutherans, Quakers, "Ranters," Sabbatarians, Baptists, Presbyterians, Independents (Congregationalists), French Huguenots, a Jewish congregation, and not a few who were entirely unchurched. Even architecture contributed to the puzzle. In the city, there were rows of brick houses and stores, presenting to the street stepped gables with multiple garrets and lofts, like Amsterdam on a small scale. Out in the country, the roofs and shutters of the cottages made one think of the meadows and canals over in Flanders. The few British Episcopalians must have felt curiously out of place.¹

Not the least part of the strange atmosphere was a foreign church, the Reformed Protestant Church of Holland, already too firmly grounded to be disregarded by the new government. Among those who advised the reluctant Stuyvesant to yield to British force, was the pastor of the Reformed congregation in New Amsterdam. His voice carried weight, for he represented an influence in the colony many years older than Stuyvesant's. The Reformed church in that city, the oldest Christian organization in New York, was formally established in 1628, when Domine Jonas Michaelius gathered the faithful in a room over the mill near the fort, solemnly formed them into a regular congregation with elders, and broke the bread of life to fifty persons. Fourteen years later, the second Reformed church in the colony was established at Beverwyck, which became Albany. After another long interval the Dutch on Long Island built, 1654-1660, a nest of churches destined to be strong and influential: the five collegiate congregations in Kings County, now Brooklyn. In 1661, the Reformed Church planted its first offshoot in New Jersey, the congregation of Bergen.

At the English occupation of 1664, there were thirteen Reformed churches with six ministers. Thereafter the Reformed Communion absorbed several French Huguenot and German Reformed congregations, and continued to grow in spite of a deplorable lack of pastors and much internal strife. It had expanded to sixty-five churches and nineteen ministers in 1740, just before the rapid rise of a party determined to Americanize the Church. By 1771, when this group and its opponents united, there were over a hundred churches and thirty-four ministers. It was certainly the strongest denomination in the Hudson and Mohawk

¹Wertenbaker, *Middle Colonies*, pp. 47-50, 66-70, 82-83. Corwin, *History of the Reformed Church, Dutch*, in *Amer. Ch. Hist. Ser.*, VIII, pp. 38-39, 44-45.

valleys, on the western end of Long Island, and in the northeastern and central counties of New Jersey.²

That strength had not been attained without a struggle, for after the "conquest" the Dutch Church was in an embarrassing position. Her clergy, who formerly were rather disposed to sympathize with Stuyvesant's intolerance, were found anxious to be tolerated. The administration was eager to pacify the captured province, and was therefore inclined to be lenient and to respect the promise in the articles of surrender, which guaranteed to the Dutch Church complete freedom of worship and discipline. Colonel Richard Nicolls, the first governor, got on well with the Dutch, and by agreement their church in the fort was made available to the Episcopalians after the Dutch service. The overwhelming predominance of the Reformed faith and the weakness of Anglicanism are shown by the fact that for more than thirty years, until the erection of Trinity Church, the Episcopalians had to share the Dutch church.³

All that time the Episcopal Church was a stranger, almost an interloper. Services were maintained by chaplains to the British garrison in New York City: Charles Wolley, John Gordon, Josias Clarke, Alexander Innes, and John Miller. Wolley came over with Governor Andros in 1678, and later published a quaint sketch of the province. He was a gentleman of culture and mild manners, who lived on good terms with the Dutch. He tried also to reconcile the Lutheran and Reformed ministers in the city, who were not on speaking terms. The services of Innes to the Episcopal Church in America have rarely received their merited notice. At the revolution of 1689 against the government of the Roman Catholic King James II, the bigoted "Protestant" Leisler party among the Dutch drove him from his place as a "Papist." Settling in Monmouth County, New Jersey, he ministered to the scattered Episcopalians until his death in 1713. Miller became hateful to the Dutch by vainly attempting to force himself into the rectorship of the Episcopal church in New York City.

During that long period, the Episcopalians were practically confined to the small number of English officials and others who had come into the country since the "conquest." They were regarded as a minor sect. As late as 1695, Chaplain Miller reported only ninety Episcopalian families in the province of New York, against more than seven-

²Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 90. Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church*, pp. 60, 603, 670, and *op. cit. ante*, pp. 28-32, 41, 47, 57-58. *Eccles. Recs., St. of N. Y.*, I, p. 492. Taylor, *Annals of the Classis of Bergen*, pp. 18, 45-46. Burr, "Rel. Hist. of N. J. Before 1702," in *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, July, 1938, pp. 173-174.

³Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85. Disosway, *The Earliest Churches of New York and Its Vicinity*, pp. 43-44. Corwin, *Hist. of Ref. Ch.*, p. 58.

teen hundred for the Dutch Church, and over thirteen hundred of English dissenters from the Anglican Church!⁴

While the Dutch passively accepted the Anglicans, the English chaplain used to read the Common Prayer service in the church at the fort on Sunday afternoons after the Dutch service. So the Labadist missionaries, Dankers and Sluyter, saw Wolley performing in 1679 before a congregation of twenty-five or thirty persons, and could not keep their contempt to themselves. On the whole, that was a happy period, later called a little golden age, in the relations between the Episcopal Church and the Dutch. For the liberal climate no small thanks were due to the first two governors, Richard Nicolls and Francis Lovelace, who realized that the Dutch could never be easy under a stiff insistence upon conformity to British customs.⁵

As the restored Stuart kings of England began to exalt royal power to its seat before the revolution of 1649-1660, the gracious mood yielded to a stiffer colonial policy. Probably the harsher attitude reflected the recapture of "New Netherland" by the Dutch in 1673-4, and the open joy with which their former colonists received them. A harder hand was evident when Sir Edmund Andros grasped the helm in 1678 and began to steer towards a stricter administration and a more aggressive promotion of the Church of England. The result was the emergence of a popular party, including many of the Dutch Church, favoring more democratic government and opposing establishment of the Episcopal Church. The issue did not appear fully until after the deposition of James II in 1689 and the accompanying Leislerite or "Protestant" revolution in New York.⁶

The new king, William III, was also Stadtholder of the Netherlands and therefore agreeable to the Dutch. But his administration was not entirely popular with some of them. He personally preferred the Reformed Church, although outwardly conforming to the Church of England. His first two governors in New York—Sloughter and Fletcher—were ardent political churchmen. His queen, Mary II, was a devout churchwoman and was influenced by the missionary group in England, particularly Bishop Compton of London, a leader in the new drive to extend Episcopalian influence in the colonies. It is one of the peculiar

⁴*Centennial Hist. of P. E. Church in the Diocese of N. Y.*, p. 49. Perry *History of the American Episcopal Church*, Vol. I, pp. 150-153, 155, 158-159, 160-161. Burr, "Rel. Hist. of N. J. Before 1702," in *N. J. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1938. Corwin, p. 110.

⁵*Eccles. Recs., St. of N. Y.*, I, p. 711 (cit. Dankers' and Sluyter's *Journal*, 1679-80, p. 148) and p. 720; also II, p. 829. Corwin, *Hist. of Ref. Ch.*, pp. 58, 68-69. Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 148, 151, 155-156.

⁶Wertebaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87. Corwin, *Hist. of Ref. Ch.*, pp. 72-73. Perry, I, p. 148, *et seq.*

features of the reign of this "Dutch" king (1689-1702), that the Anglican Church for the first time began to secure a firm foundation outside of Virginia and Maryland. The great Doctor Thomas Bray established parish libraries, the College of William and Mary was founded in Virginia, and in 1701 a royal charter was issued to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.⁷

The new spirit soon began to ferment in the feeble church at New York. Progress was even slower than in the Puritan colonies, because there was no background of English-speaking culture. The churchmen in too many instances were identified with an unpopular administration, which some of them tactlessly represented. One unhappy incident already had put the Dutch majority in a suspicious mood. Nicholas Van Rensselaer, a young Dutch minister and a member of one of the colony's most prominent families, took orders from the bishop of Salisbury, and came over in 1675 to become pastor of the Reformed church at Albany. Resistance flared up at once, as he was unwelcome to the people. William Van Nieuwenhuysen, pastor of the Dutch church in New York, sternly warned him never to perform any functions in the Reformed church there. Although the administration favored him, Governor Andros was obliged to remove him for immorality.

In the light of an evidently increasing movement to establish the Church of England, this event put the Dutch on guard. For about fifteen years the question was not very earnestly raised—and yet was not forgotten. After the revolution of 1689, it was brought up again, under the most unpleasant circumstances. The situation was made no easier by the fact that to many of the Dutch their own Church had always seemed semi-established. The "Duke's Laws" of 1665 empowered churches to levy and collect dues for their maintenance. Since in most counties the Reformed were a majority or at least a plurality, that made their Church seem a sort of establishment. As late as 1706 the condition was officially recognized by the courts. In reality it created several established churches, depending upon what denomination had a local majority and wanted to take advantage of the law.⁸

Now one of the smallest denominations began to claim the special privileges of a legal establishment. Hints of the event had been in the air for years, and, at the time of the Van Rensselaer scandal, Domine Van Nieuwenhuysen had expressed his alarm and disgust in a lengthy report to the classis of Amsterdam, the head of the Dutch colonial churches.

⁷Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, pp. xv-xxxi, 7-12, 14-15. Perry, I, p. 113, *et seq.*, 138, 197-198.

⁸Corwin, *op. cit. ante*, pp. 66-68, 73. *Eccles. Recs., St. of N. Y.*, I, pp. 684-686. Wertenbaker, pp. 85-86.

In 1683, the classis warned the American congregations of a contemplated plan to introduce bishops of the Church of England.

Among the Dutch the opponents of an Anglican establishment were certainly in the majority, but a fairly large group of influential Dutch families and clergy favored the Anglican administration of Governors Fletcher and Sloughter. Their sympathy was due to a genuine dread of the democratic tendencies in Leisler's popular following. Their attitude made it less difficult for Episcopalian "high-fliers" to drum up some support for their efforts to secure a firmer foundation in New York City. The Dutch aristocracy still would not countenance a real establishment, but would show Anglicanism some favor in return for some toward their own Church.⁹

Sloughter began to agitate for a law establishing the Church of England. His plan was cut short by his sudden death, which his friends said was due to apoplexy, while the Leislerites ascribed it to delirium tremens. Fletcher, his successor, was a political churchman of the old Tory foxhunter type. He could have sat for Addison's caustic portrait of the publican who worked up his complexion to crimson by drinking success to the Church and bawling at the razing of dissenters' chapels—but had no time to go to church himself. In promoting a sullen aversion to the Church, he was exceeded only by his successor, the ineffable Cornbury. His zeal for the Church blinded nobody to his arrogance, vanity and avarice. Rumor in the city, and far beyond, described him as the chief patron of pirates who ranged the American coast and even strutted on the streets. Surviving gems from his addresses to the Assembly suggest the hectorings of a petty bashaw.

Such was the man whom history in a sardonic mood elected to attempt the imposition of an Anglican establishment upon the Dutch. In 1692, he pressed the unwelcome subject upon the Assembly, but without success. The majority, favoring the Dutch and English dissenters, sullenly refused to be bullied into granting all he wanted. After prolonged pulling and hauling in committee, and more licks with the rough side of Fletcher's tongue, the Assembly passed the legal curiosity known as the Vestry Act of 1693. It was a joke on Fletcher, which was not so bad, but it was also one on the Church, and that proved to be tragic.¹⁰

The Assembly never intended the law to establish the Church of England, and it did not expressly do so. The act applied to only four of the ten counties: Richmond (Staten Island), Westchester, New York (Manhattan Island) and Queens. In them it created six parishes.¹¹

⁹Corwin, pp. 89-93. Wertenbaker, pp. 86-87. *Eccles. Recs.*, II, pp. 849-850.

¹⁰Wertenbaker, p. 87. *Eccles. Recs.*, II, pp. 1076-1079. Perry, I, pp. 159-160. Corwin, pp. 98-99, 103, 106.

¹¹*Eccles. Recs.*, II, p. 1092. Corwin, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

While it used the terms *wardens* and *vestrymen*, it did not even mention the Book of Common Prayer, and did not require the parish minister to be an Episcopalian. If the majority of the parish were not Episcopalians, they might elect dissenting wardens and vestrymen and call a non-Anglican pastor. That actually happened at Jamaica, and caused almost endless trouble. At the first election in the parish of New York, there were only three Episcopalians among the ten vestrymen, and neither of the wardens was one.

The terms *wardens* and *vestrymen* were enough for Fletcher and other Anglican governors to claim a legal establishment of the Anglican Church. Repeated efforts to make the act more amenable did not really help the Church, and did not greatly harm the Dutch. But the official misinterpretation, by creating the appearance of governmental favor toward the Episcopalians, damaged their cause by instilling in many of their Reformed Dutch neighbors a suspicion of Anglicanism. That dangerous situation persisted until the Revolution abolished the Vestry Act.¹²

The solution of the difficulty was found in New York City, where the *civil* vestry, elected by an overwhelming non-Episcopalian majority, inevitably assumed their attitude towards the Church. When Trinity Church was chartered in 1697, provision was made for an *ecclesiastical* vestry, which, of course, would call an Episcopalian rector. The charter repeatedly mentioned the act of 1693 as establishing the Episcopal Church. The Dutch majority apparently were willing to let that pass, as in the preceding year the Anglican administration had favored a similar charter for the old Dutch church in New York City. Some of them probably begrudged the pious Fletcher the massy gift of silver plate which they gave him. But at least, by respecting each other's legal rights, the two churches thenceforth found a way of getting along together.¹³

The parties were not destined to settle down in peace without another unpleasant incident. Chaplain Miller claimed the right to be "inducted" as rector of the New York parish under the act of 1693. He was supported by Governor Fletcher, but the non-Anglican Council snubbed him. On his return to England in 1695, he wrote a memorandum on the church situation in New York, advocating a local bishop as suffragan to the bishop of London, with civil authority and troops to maintain the administration. No doubt any of the Dutch, who read this recommendation, would have agreed upon the necessity of troops.

When the Rev. William Vesey was inducted as the first rector of

¹²Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-126, 128.

¹³Corwin, pp. 111-114, 115, 116-118. Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 161-163.

Trinity Church in 1697, the ceremony suggested an era of amicable relations. It was held in the new Dutch church, and two of the Reformed clergy assisted: Domine Selyns of New York City and Domine Nucella of Kingston. Governor Bellomont, who succeeded Fletcher, was not disposed to irritate the Dutch. In fact, he tended to favor their popular party, and openly accused Fletcher of having tried to foment strife between the Dutch and the English. He even described Fletcher's partisans as a disgrace to the English Church and nation. He probably went too far, giving extreme offense to the Episcopalians and some of the Dutch laity and clergy, by having Leisler's remains disinterred and solemnly buried in the Dutch church.¹⁴

Cornbury, his successor, was nearly everything a colonial governor should not have been. As arrogant and abusive as Fletcher, he committed the additional offense of effeminacy. He was always in debt, and, after his necessary removal in 1709, only his elevation to the peerage, through his father's death, saved him from cooling his heels in jail as a deadbeat. He persecuted the Presbyterians, insulted missionaries of the S. P. G., and by his overbearing conduct caused many of the Dutch on Long Island to move into New Jersey. One could scarcely imagine a worse person to recommend the Episcopal Church to the Dutch, and his effort to bully them ended in his complete mortification.

When the pastorate of the Dutch church at Kingston became vacant, Cornbury attempted to impose an Anglican clergyman named Hepburn. When they turned him a cold shoulder, Cornbury lashed out at them in "stinging words," as though they were "the lowest negroes or heathen." Ignoring his ravings, the provincial council coolly demanded a look at his instructions, which he claimed empowered him to settle a clergyman upon any church, but which were found to apply only to *Episcopal* churches. Incensed to the limit, the Dutch threatened to carry the matter to Great Britain, by requesting the classis of Amsterdam to protest. Afraid to stir up an international "incident," Cornbury hastily dropped the business, and with his removal the Dutch breathed more easily.¹⁵

Later governors generally respected the rights of the Dutch churches, which was fortunate for the latter, as after 1720 they suffered from severe growing pains in becoming more evangelistic and American. Rumblings of dissension were heard as early as 1693, when William Bertholf ignored the New York clergy and the classis of Amsterdam and sought from the classis of Middleburg an ordination as pastor of the young churches of Hackensack and Acquackanonk. He became the Reformed apostle of

¹⁴Corwin, pp. 93-94, 106-107, 121, 122. Perry, I, pp. 160-161. *Eccles. Recs.*, II, pp. 1218-1219, 1225, 1284.

¹⁵Wertenbaker, pp. 87-89. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, pp. 1478, 1615-1619, 1657-1662. *Tercentenary Studies, Reformed Church in America*, pp. 141-144.

northern and central New Jersey, strongly evangelistic and apparently heedless of foreign jurisdiction. Even more so was a man whom he admired and defended, Theodorus J. Frelinghuysen, who in 1720 settled as first pastor of the Raritan valley Dutch churches. He stirred them to the depths by calling for real conversion and piety. These men were harbingers of the "Great Awakening" about 1740, and leaders of the growing party which demanded independence for the American churches, and a college to train ministers for the many empty pulpits.¹⁶

Already disturbed by the "Awakening," the Dutch Church moved towards a crisis. It centered in the debate over the creation of an American classis or association of churches empowered to ordain ministers and exercise discipline, and the closely related plan for a college. In 1747 the association, later called the "Coetus,"^{16-a} was organized, evidently with general approval. When it actually began to ordain and govern, the conservatives became panicky, fearing a complete schism from the mother Church in Holland. Within a few years, party lines were hardening, and congregations and even families were so divided that the whole Church was seriously endangered by the expenditure of so much zeal in internal dissension.

The conservatives finally organized the "Conferentie," pledging loyalty to the classis of Amsterdam, and opposing an American classis or college. The "Coetus" party fought with the majority of the clergy and laity in its ranks, aided by every influence making the Church American, especially the increasing use of English in the home, the school and the pulpit. In 1766 and 1770, the impatient "Coetus" party secured charters for the college called "Queens," which has become Rutgers University. The Americanizing of the Church appeared in a provision that one of the professors must be able to teach in English.¹⁷

That triumph was won after a most bitter struggle, which involved the relations between the Reformed Dutch and Episcopal Churches. In the 1750's, New York was struck by the zeal for establishing colonial colleges, which between 1745 and 1765 produced five, including "Kings" (Columbia) in New York City. No sooner had the latter been proposed, than some non-Episcopalians strove to prevent its being a Church college. Jealous of Episcopalian growth, they tried to blow up popular animosity against it. Their outstanding champion was William Livingston, who in the newspaper called *The Independent Reflector* painted in ghastly colors the impending destruction of religious liberty, and especially of

¹⁶Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-135. Wertenbaker, pp. 92-95. *Ter. Studies*, p. 193. Messler, *Forty Years at Raritan*, pp. 165-166, 170, 172. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, pp. 2178-2181. *History of the Classis of Paramus*, R. C. A., 1800-1900, under Acquackanonk.

^{16-a}Latin, meaning a convention or assembly.

¹⁷Wertenbaker, pp. 95-97. Corwin, p. 136, *et seq.* *Acts and Proceedings of the General Synod*, I, pp. vii-viii, xciii, xciv, xcvi, 1, li, cv.

the Dutch Church, if the college were under Episcopalian auspices. His campaign miscarried, for Trinity Church offered a site, and the charter provided that the president and the chapel services should be Anglican. The first rector was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, pastor of Christ Church in Stratford, Connecticut.¹⁸

The college received surprising favor from the conservative or "Conferentie" party, some of whom suggested a professorship of divinity for their Church. The "Coetus" group tossed the idea on the toasting fork of scorn, and safely predicted its failure. The head of the movement, who persisted long after others had given up hope, was Domine Johannes Ritzema of New York City. He proposed that the charter should provide for such a professorship, and when it passed without this provision, he favored an amendment. The other party hastened to assure him that his Episcopalian friends were simply bluffing. His own Church rebuked his haste, and the classis of Amsterdam would not back him. He wrote a somewhat feeble apology, protesting his loyalty to the Reformed Church, and denying any undue fraternizing with Episcopalians.¹⁹

So foundered the effort for co-operation, broken on the hard reef of popular resolve to maintain the independence of the Dutch Church, not as an expression of Dutch nationalism but as a religious tradition. The struggle was partly between the conservative and progressive or Dutch and American parties in the Reformed Communion. Even more, it revealed a protest against official Anglicanism as the suspected instrument of an increasingly disliked royal government. Once that government and the Vestry Act were gone and religious freedom was constitutionally established, the Dutch respected the Episcopal Church as a religious society with no more official favor than their own or any other.

As though conscious of the need of unity in the approaching contest with royalism, the Dutch Church factions combined when it appeared that the "American" progressives held the field. The union was due largely to the Rev. John Livingston, who in 1771 began to preach in English in the Dutch church of New York. His proposal, adopted in 1771, virtually assured the independence of the American churches. Almost too late, it guaranteed their continued growth as a native denomination. When the Revolution came, the Dutch were almost solid in the American cause, and dearly paid for it in plundered homes and

¹⁸*Eccles. Recs.*, V, pp. 3367, 3432, 3457, 3458, 3459-3460, 3508, 3518, 3525-3526, 3529-3530. Corwin, pp. 142-143, 146, 147. Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁹*Eccles. Recs.*, V, pp. 3495, 3501, 3505-3506, 3452-3543, 3544-3545, 3554-3555, 3556, 3574-3577, 3584, 3610, 3612. *Corwin's Manual*, 3rd ed., 1879, pp. 32-44, 414-417. Corwin, *Hist. of Ref. Ch.*, pp. 144-146, 148-150, 153-157.

desecrated churches, as the war was largely fought in their territory.

But the outcome spelled death to the old dread of a political Episcopalian establishment. It meant also, eventually, a new life for the Episcopal Church. Some, like Bishop Provoost, predicted the Church's death with the Tory exiles and the old families. They did not reckon with the amazing vitality of Anglicanism as a purely religious tradition. It persisted, and not the least element in its strength was a large membership of Dutch descent, which had embraced it of free will.²⁰

PART II

After the founding of the S. P. G., the Episcopal Church won over many of the Dutch, in spite of blunders by royal officials. One of its most effective influences was the thorough work of the Society's excellent schools. By teaching in English they removed the barrier of language, and made the younger Dutch more friendly to the Episcopal Church. Governor Cornbury tried this policy with his usual tactless haste, by claiming that his instructions with respect to licensing schoolmasters applied to the Dutch. They claimed exemption for their schools as well as their clergy. The destruction of some schools on Long Island was laid to his arrogance in flouting the privileges granted to the Dutch Church in 1664 and 1696.

As early as 1704, Rector Vesey of New York recommended the appointment of a schoolmaster among the four pastorless Dutch churches in Kings County, as "a great instrument of bringing the youth and others to the church." In New York City his plan was followed throughout the colonial period, with brilliant success. By 1715, the Society's schoolmaster, Mr. William Huddleston, had taught six hundred and fifty Dutch and French children to read and write English. Three years later, he had fifty poor scholars in reading, writing, and the Church catechism. In 1709, the Society sent him fifty copies of a translation of the Prayer Book into Dutch. The children taught by him in 1725, on the Society's bounty, included several with Dutch names. In 1740, one of his successors, Mr. Thomas Noxon, was commended for his "Diligence and Fidelity" in teaching sixty-six poor children, including ten Dutch. This flourishing school partly explains the constant influx of Dutch people into Trinity Church and its two chapels, St. George's and St. Paul's.²¹

²⁰Corwin, *Hist. of Ref. Ch.*, pp. 163-173, 175-176. Wertenbaker, pp. 98-100. *Eccles. Recs.*, VI, pp. 4008-4009, 4143, 4194-4195, 4205.

²¹*Eccles. Recs.*, III, p. 1553. *S. P. G. Annual Report, 1704/5*, pp. 30-31; *Abstract of Proceedings, 1716*, pp. 28-29; 1720, p. 52; 1741, p. 72. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, 69, 82-83, 93-94, 99-100.

Efforts to win the younger generation through the school were eminently successful in Richmond Parish, Staten Island. When Aeneas Mackenzie became missionary in 1705, two-thirds of the people were Dutch and French. He frankly explained to the Society that the lack of English schools injured the Church. The diversity of tongues made a school more necessary than anywhere else, "in order to unite the growing Generation in their Language, as well as in their religious Principles." Two years later the Society pledged £50 a year to support three schoolmasters, and from that time until the Revolution employed at least thirteen teachers in the parish. One of the later schoolmasters, Tunis Egberts, was of Dutch descent; he served from 1763 at least until 1776, and was not finally dropped from the Society's employment until 1783. As early as 1709, two English schools were flourishing, and in 1711 Mackenzie wrote that the French, some of the Dutch, and most of the English dissenters allowed their children to learn the Church catechism. By 1715, he was reporting more numerous baptisms among the Dutch and other non-English groups.²²

Similar reports came from the parishes in Westchester County. In 1717, Mr. Cleator, master of an S. P. G. school in Rye parish, sent to the Society a list of his scholars, containing a few Dutch names. Twenty-one years later, Mr. Wetmore, the rector of Rye, reported that Mr. Purdy, the schoolmaster, had three Dutch pupils.

The vast mission of Albany and Schenectady, including the Dutch settlements and Indian lodges of the Mohawk valley, relied mostly on the school to promote the Church. There was deep-seated prejudice to overcome among the Dutch in that region. In 1716, they were described as so much opposed to the erection of an Episcopal church that the workmen were jailed. When Thomas Barclay settled there as missionary, the Dutch children were totally ignorant of English, but by 1710 many could say the catechism and make the responses at prayers. He frequently visited the schoolrooms, and gave the teachers the alms collected in church. He established an English school at Schenectady, which was mostly Dutch, and even catechized the children of Domine Lydius, the Reformed pastor at Albany. In 1713 most of his seventy scholars were of Dutch parentage. Within a few years the Episcopal Church in the Mohawk region grew from practically nothing to two prosperous congregations at Albany and Schenectady.

That policy was continued, and in 1751 the Rev. John Ogilvie, missionary at Albany, instructed nearly one hundred and fifty Dutch children in the Church catechism. He hoped that would tend to intro-

²²Humphreys, *Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, pp. 217-218. Davis, *The Church of St. Andrew, Richmond, Staten Island, &c.*, pp. 16-17, 19-22, 29. Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 163, et seq., 171-172.

duce English more universally, and lessen prejudice against the Anglican liturgy. In May 1768, the Society requested Sir William Johnson, commissioner of Indian affairs, to provide a schoolmaster for the recently established settlement of Johnstown in the Mohawk country. Edward Wall conducted a flourishing school until 1775, and had some Dutch children among his pupils. The Society was always careful to appoint in that region missionaries who could speak Dutch. Appreciation of their efforts appeared in many conversions, and in contributions by the Dutch for erecting churches.²³

Among the most effective missionaries in New Jersey was Isaac Browne, rector of Trinity Church in Newark, close to the Dutch strongholds in Bergen County. One of the outposts of Dutch settlement was the village of Second River (now Belleville), a few miles north of Newark. The people could speak English "tolerably well," but had no school. About 1756 Mr. Browne appointed an English schoolmaster, who also read the Prayer Book services. He gave "very great satisfaction" to the people, and the school became most successful, supported partly by the Society and partly by small contributions from the parents. Under several other teachers it flourished until the Revolution, educating scores of poor children who had no other chance of learning, and were most grateful to the Society.²⁴

Teaching English was one of the most constant and powerful influences leading Dutch people to the Episcopal churches. It was favored by the increasing displacement of Dutch by English in every phase of life. Within two or three generations after the conquest, Dutch was on its way out. Education, social intercourse, intermarriage, business, and politics, all undermined it in the home, on the street, and even in its last stand, the pulpit. The Society's promotion of English schools showed a wise foresight in that the coming generations of Dutch descent would grow tired of hearing in church a tongue which continually grew more foreign to them.

While appealing to the youth in English, the Episcopal Church also addressed the older people in their cherished mother tongue. As early as 1704, the Society pointed out the need of religious books in Dutch. The annual report of 1711 stated that since many of the Dutch willingly conformed to the Church's doctrine and worship, the Society had printed seven hundred and fifty copies of the liturgy in English and "Low

²³Bolton, *History of the P. E. Church, in the County of Westchester*, p. 268. S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings*, 1740, p. 51. Hanson, *A History of St. George's Church in the City of Schenectady*, pp. 17-18, 65. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, pp. 1866-1867. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 128, 197-200, 204-206.

²⁴S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings*, 1757, p. 51; 1764, p. 84; 1767, p. 61; 1775, p. 39.

Dutch." The policy was warmly favored by Colonel Lewis Morris, who was interested in promoting the Church about Harlem. In 1709, he described to the Society his efforts to persuade his Dutch neighbors into a good opinion of the Church, and believed they would conform if they had Dutch Common Prayer Books and a missionary to preach in their tongue.²⁵

The time came when the inevitable battle of tongues drove hosts of the younger Dutch to the Episcopal Church. The conservative element in the Reformed Church steadily lost its struggle to retain the old language, but not before it had offended many of the best members, who sought the arms of other faiths. The Episcopal Church received a large share of them, especially in New York City, where the ancient Dutch church was rent by a furious and tragic dissension over the introduction of English.

Some members talked of English preaching as early as the 1730's, but Dutch was still so prevalent that they could not obtain any concession. As English continued to gain ground, the Dutch Church had to surrender to it or die. Between 1741 and 1762, there were not more than three Dutch schools in the city, as against several times that number of English ones. In 1762, a petition, headed by Jacobus Roosevelt and Philip Livingston, requested the appointment of an English preacher. The consistory dreaded an uproar and pleaded for delay, but in the following year the conservatives agreed to call an English preacher, if a new church were built especially for English services. The call to Holland stated that Dutch had declined so much that children of the wealthiest families were leaving the Church, and that the English congregations "for the greater part" consisted of persons descended from communicants of the Dutch Church. The introduction of English preaching, however, came too late to win back all the seceders. Curiously enough, some ultra-conservatives were so furious at their defeat that they brought suit against the church corporation for violation of the charter. When they lost their case, they muttered, "If it must be English, let it be English"—and trooped off to the Episcopal church.²⁶

The strife resulted in large gains for old Trinity Church and its chapels, and attracted wide attention because of the noted families involved and the importance of the city as a natural theater of cultural conflict. Similar clashes in many remote places had almost equally last-

²⁵Wertebaker, *op. cit.*, p. 101, *et seq.*, and references. S. P. G., *Annual Report, 1704/5*, pp. 32-33; 1710/11, *Abstract of Proceedings*, p. 29. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, p. 1743.

²⁶*Eccles. Recs.*, VI, pp. 3817-3818, 3841-3842, 3853-3856, 3910-3911, 3965. Corwin, *Hist. of Ref. Ch.*, p. 159. Wertebaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96, 110-111. Demarest, *The Reformed Church in America*, p. 64. Disosway, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 71-72, 76-77. Kemp, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

ing effects upon the growth of the Episcopal Church. The trend in some parts of rural New Jersey is illuminated by the Rev. Rhinehardt Erickzon's comment on his call to Middletown and Freehold, Monmouth County, in 1736. He found the Dutch tongue running out so much that the young people preferred English services, which, of course, included the Episcopal. His lament could have been repeated by many Dutch pastors in both providences.²⁷

The Dutch Church was laid open to Anglican penetration by its prolonged internal dissensions. A typical example is the wearisome personal feud between Domines Freeman and Antonides of Kings County. In 1711, Colonel Caleb Heathcote, a noted patron of the Church, informed the Society that many of the Dutch were sick of the wretched business. They flocked to hear the Rev. Thomas Poyer, rector of the Episcopal church in Jamaica, and some even became communicants. Some had previously been well disposed towards the Episcopalians, and Poyer noticed members of the Dutch church among his congregation when he came in 1710. A generation later, the parish was further increased because of religious strife among the local Dutch families. Such fraternizing was natural in Queens County, a crossroads of Dutch and English migration, where languages and religions freely intermingled. In 1767 Mr. Cutting, the missionary at Hempstead, observed the same tendency among the Dutch, who were numerous in his parish and expressed respect for the Episcopal Church.²⁸

The establishment of Christ Church in Poughkeepsie was encouraged by a schism in the local Dutch congregation. The first missionary visits of Samuel Seabury the elder, from 1755 to 1762, were welcomed by some of the Dutch, especially Henry and Jacobus Ter Boss of Rombout. Appointed to Dutchess County in 1756, he visited Fishkill, Philipse's Manor, Poughkeepsie, Rombout and Bateman's Precinct, Nine Partners and Crum Elbow, holding services in homes and in the Dutch church at Fishkill.

He was succeeded by the Rev. John Beardsley from Connecticut, who visited six times from 1762 to 1764, and in 1766 was appointed to the mission of Poughkeepsie. One of his first concerns was to seek the Society's aid for an English school, in order to give the Dutch an opportunity to learn the language. At that time he was already catechizing about fifty children. Many of the Dutch adhered to the Episcopal church, and the Reformed and Episcopalian congregations remained in friendly relations. The subscribers for building the Episcopal

²⁷*Eccles. Recs.*, VI, pp. 3935-3936. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-117.

²⁸Ladd, *The Origin and History of Grace Church, Jamaica, New York*, pp. 55, 61, 84. *S. P. G. Abstract of Proceedings*, 1768, p. 54; 1770, p. 25. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, p. 1903. Prime, *A History of Long Island*, p. 70.

church and purchasing a glebe included such names as Ter Boss, Ten Broeck, Van der Burgh, Van Kleeck, Brinckerhoff, Schenck, Van Voorhees and de Wit.

The Dutch congregations of Poughkeepsie and Fishkill were so deeply divided from 1765 to 1774 that many became temporary or permanent members of the Episcopal Church. Another cause of that movement was the decline of Dutch and the growing use of English, which caused one of the Reformed pastors to resign in 1774, and led members of the Dutch Church to support an English school at Poughkeepsie.²⁹

Another occasion of withdrawals to Episcopal churches was an appalling shortage of ministers, which caused many long vacancies, during which people were likely to slip away. When the pastorate of Albany and Schenectady was vacant about 1709, the Dutch "thankfully" heard the Society's missionary read the Church of England service and preach in Dutch at their chapel. Many became devoted Episcopalians. Urged by Colonel Lewis Morris, from 1710 to 1713 the Society took under its care the pastorless Dutch congregation at Harlem, appointing as missionary the Rev. Henry Beyse, a Reformed minister whom Morris persuaded to accept Anglican ordination. During a vacancy in the Kings County Dutch churches, Rector Vesey of Trinity Church, New York City, supplied them for a time and found some "well affected to the Church of England." Episcopalian services apparently were not regularly held until the Revolution, when the Rev. John Sayre ministered as chaplain to the British forces until about 1782. The Dutch allowed him to use their church, and this is generally accepted as the origin of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn.³⁰

In Westchester County, there were many defections to the Episcopal Church, as the Dutch were scattered among other groups, and often lacked regular ministrations by their own clergy. As early as 1708, the Rev. George Muirson of Rye preached to a Dutch congregation about eighteen miles away, and found them so friendly that he planned to visit them frequently. The Rev. Peter Stoupe, missionary to the French Episcopalians of New Rochelle, wrote in 1733 that the Dutch requested him to baptize their children. In 1736 he noticed that especially in summer his congregation was increased by the Dutch in that neighborhood. The Dutch of Yonkers welcomed the Rev. John Bartow, rector of Westchester, who used to preach to them three times a year in a house or a barn. In 1714 he wrote that the people were mostly Dutch, and that he

²⁹Reynolds, *The Records of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie*, pp. 1, 2, 4, 6-10, 13-15, 20, 21, 30, 40-41, 44-45. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

³⁰Hanson, *A History of St. George's Church*, I, pp. 17-18, 22, 23, 40, 65. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, pp. 1553, 1743, 1866-1867. Prime, *op. cit.*, pp. 385, 386. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn, &c.*, Vol. III, pp. 652-654.

hoped their children would be educated in the Church way when an English Episcopalian could be secured as a schoolmaster. His successor, the Rev. Thomas Standard, reported in 1729 that the neighboring Dutch had a meeting-house, but no settled minister, and were supplied only once a quarter from New York, at other times by a reader.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Society in 1712 started a charity school to teach the catechism and the liturgy to the Dutch and English children at Yonkers. By 1717 the people began to want a church, and in 1752-3 St. John's was erected, largely by contributions from the Dutch. The region finally became a regular mission of the Manor of Phillipsburg, including Yonkers, extending twenty-four miles along the Hudson and containing about three hundred families, mostly Dutch. After 1765 it was served by the Rev. Messrs. Harry Munro and Luke Babcock, and was very prosperous, partly from the influence of the great Phillips or (Philipse) family.

The patronage of the Van Cortlandts of Cortlandt Manor promoted St. Peter's Church in Peekskill, situated in a large Dutch settlement. Services began in 1744, land for the foundation of a parish was donated in 1750, the church was begun in 1766, and the parish was incorporated in 1770, including St. Philip's Chapel in the Highlands. The first rector was the Rev. John Doty, appointed missionary by the S. P. G., who later served at Schenectady. Among the principal benefactors were the Van Cortlandts, the Philipases, and the Crugers.⁸¹

In New Jersey, the Episcopalians were not so powerful as in New York, and gained fewer members from the Dutch Church. But the records occasionally hint that to some extent the same tendencies appeared. In 1746, Domine Erickzon of Monmouth County mourned that the difficulty of supplying vacant pulpits from Holland caused defections to the Episcopal Church. The northeastern Dutch towns remained steadfastly Reformed, and perhaps their loyalty was stiffened by an irritating incident in the church at Second River. There the wealthy Arent Schuyler and his family gave a fund to support the pastor. Due to a misunderstanding as to the denomination supposed to use the endowment, it was claimed by the friends of Isaac Browne, rector of Trinity Church in Newark. He therefore officiated there and the Dutch pastor, Mr. Haaghoort, performed his services on the doorstep. The difficulty was ironed out in 1770, and Domine Haaghoort was reinstated.⁸²

⁸¹Bolton, *History of the P. E. Church, in the County of Westchester*, pp. 45, 48, 60, 62, 442, 445, 446, 487, 488, 489, 499, 526. S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings, 1734*, p. 47; 1737, p. 49. *Centennial History of the P. E. Church in the Diocese of New York*, p. 232. *Eccles. Recs.*, III, p. 1697. Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 146, 160. Lydekker, "The Reverend John Doty, 1745-1841," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE P. E. CHURCH*, Sept., 1938, pp. 287-291.

⁸²*Eccles. Recs.*, IV, pp. 2920-2921. Disosway, *op. cit. ante*, p. 357. S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings, 1757*, p. 51.

A pleasanter atmosphere prevailed in the Raritan valley, "the garden of the Dutch Church." There the Frelinghuysens toiled and the churches for generations raised up pastors, missionaries and educators, whose influence moulded the destinies of the Reformed Communion. The Society wisely established a mission in the little metropolis of this region, New Brunswick. It was a cosmopolitan center of trade and travel on the highroad between New York and Philadelphia, where Dutch, French Huguenots, Scottish Presbyterians and English intermingled. In course of time the Episcopal church included many of the Dutch, who were alienated by Frelinghuysen's sympathy with the evangelist, the Rev. George Whitefield, a priest of the Church of England.

Those open relations impressed the Rev. Leonard Cutting, rector of Christ Church, who in 1764 noted that his people lived on friendly terms with the Dutch, "without Disputes and Animosities on Account of Religion." After 1770, Episcopalians were not unknown among the students of Queens College, whose founders, although firmly devoted to the Dutch Church, prescribed no denominational test for admission and cited the Episcopal Church as an advantage of the location. In spite of the partisan rancor of the Revolution, friendly relations were not destroyed, for within a few years the master of the college grammar school was the Rev. John Croes, destined to become the first bishop of New Jersey in 1815.³³

Such instances of Christian amity made all the more poignant the tragedy wrought in both churches by the clash between their peculiar religious traditions, with their diverse languages and cultures. The Dutch Church was compelled to decide "whether it would perish with the old civilization or rise on the crest of the new." That issue was closely related to the progress of the Episcopal Church, which represented the new and aggressive culture, in itself not unacceptable, but hateful in its religious aspect, because of its association with royalism and the unpopular colonial administration. The Dutch therefore frequently showed a smouldering resentment, which was fed by the arrogance of some Anglican officials, and by the defection of notable members to Episcopalian congregations. The "Coetus" party sought to Americanize the Dutch Church and thereby conserve its religious traditions, which alone could prevent its absorption into the Episcopal and other churches.³⁴

Before that policy triumphed, the Dutch Church passed through a period of strife which lowered its resistance to Anglicanism. It was

³³S. P. G., *Abstract of Proceedings, 1765*, p. 77. Demarest, *A History of Rutgers College*, pp. 21, 76, 189, *et seq.*

³⁴Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 95, *et seq.*

already undermined by the decline of the Dutch language, the spread of English schools, intermarriage, and the lack of pastors. The agonizing situation is sketched in hard lines by reports from the Dutch clergy to the classis of Amsterdam. In 1741, Domine Du Bois of New York City, a bitter anti-Episcopalian, declared that unless the Dutch churches could have enough ministers, some of the flock would stray to other denominations. "This some have already done, either induced by worldly aims, or by hypocritical reasons, or by artful misleadings." His dread was increased by the "Great Awakening," with its strife between "Old Lights" and "New Lights," which rent the Dutch as well as other Protestant churches. The conservative party tended to see people of their own mind among the Episcopalians. Writing to the classis of Amsterdam in 1743, Domines Boel, Mutzelius and Mancius revealed how they and their friends sympathized with the New York Episcopalians in opposing Whitefield.⁸⁵

Resentment at the decline caused by these influences glowed hotly in the "Coetus" party. In 1750, they blasted "The abominable behavior of those who seek to receive the Lord's Supper from us, and then again from the English Church." In 1755, the "Conferentie" warned that further disputes might endanger the Church, as some families were already divided between the Dutch and Episcopalian congregations. Nine years later, noting the decline of the Dutch Church in comparison with others, the "Coetus" declared "both the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians have built up their churches on the ruin of ours." In 1768, the consistory of New York argued that unless the two parties united, the "Coetus" might join the Presbyterians, and the "Conferentie" desert to the Church of England, "where the doctrines of pure grace are scarcely to be found." After the union of 1771, the Dutch mostly favored American independence. That was partly an expression of their long resentment of Episcopalian growth under governmental favor, and of their distrust of the movement for an American bishopric.⁸⁶

The result was one of the real tragedies in American religious history: the injury inflicted upon each other by two churches representing much of the best in Christian traditions. The Dutch Church had to bear the burden of dislike which resistance to establishment aroused against her among the most bigoted Tories. The resulting damage and confusion required most of her energy in repair and recovery after the Revolution, so that she missed chances to expand into new regions. Many of her best members already had been lost to the Episcopal and other churches.

⁸⁵*Eccles. Recs.*, IV, pp. 2756, 2798.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, IV, p. 3134; VI, pp. 3965, 4159-4160. Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 98. Corwin, *Hist. of the Ref. Ch.*, p. 163, *et seq.*, 175-176.

Many of the Dutch regarded the Episcopal Church as "Tory," and the parishes emerged from the Revolution deprived of official favor and the bounty of the Society. For many years the Episcopal Church made but slight progress among the Dutch masses who remembered the old struggles. Other denominations, less affected by the past, often inherited the kingdoms which might have belonged to the two old churches with their rich traditions. Their present prestige has come from long sharing in religious freedom, which makes the quarrel over establishment one of the "old, unhappy, far-off things."²⁷

²⁷Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100.

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THE CHARACTER OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGY OF COLONIAL MARYLAND*

By Nelson Waite Rightmyer†

PROBABLY no group of men in religious history have had any harder words said about them than have the Maryland clergy. Almost any textbook on American church history, almost any textbook of secular history, castigates the Maryland clergy as a quite worthless lot. For example, Dr. McConnell says that Commissary Bray "found among them some devout and earnest men, but a still larger number who had fallen into the easy manner of the time and place, whose professional duties sat lightly upon them, and some whose lives were a scandal, and whose duties were utterly neglected. He began by proceeding against one or two flagrant offenders against morals and decency."¹ He further states, "While the clergy were apathetic, especially while they refrained from magnifying their office, the conflict between clergy and laity lay latent."²

Bacon, in speaking of the Maryland clergy, says,

"The demoralized and undisciplined clergy resisted the attempt of the provincial government to abate the scandal of their lives, and the people resisted the attempt to introduce a bishop. The body thus set before the people as the official representative of the religion of Christ 'was perhaps as contemptible an ecclesiastical organization as history can show,' having all the vices of the Virginia church without one of its safeguards or redeeming qualities."³

Sweet says that when Bray reached Maryland "his next concern was to reform the clergy within the colony and bring to bear upon

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¹S. D. McConnell, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1890), p. 107.

²*Ibid.*, p. 109.

³Leonard Woolsey Bacon, *A History of American Christianity* (New York: Scribners, 1898), pp. 61-62.

them effective discipline. At his own expense he visited all the parishes within the colony to observe the work and manner of life of the clergy. Two of the most flagrant clerical offenders against morals and decency were disciplined, though the Commissary's energetic attempts to better conditions frightened and offended the clergy and people as most of them would have preferred to be let alone."⁴

Tiffany says Bray ". . . found some faithful ministers, but more indifferent and lethargic ones. He summoned some to trial, and endeavored to suppress scandalous living."⁵

These are but a few quotations to show the general tenor of criticism raised against the Maryland clergy in the colonial period. This attitude has been widely accepted and has been quoted *ad nauseam* by secondary and tertiary writers, to the general detriment of the Anglican Church. The question is, Is this a true picture of the Maryland Church? It is this writer's opinion that it is a totally unfair picture, that it rests upon a relatively few cases of outright scandalous living, that it is enhanced by a misinterpretation of eighteenth century language forms, and that the accusations against the Maryland clergy are in many cases political rather than moral.

In order to investigate this question fully, I have listed every clergyman who is known to have served for any time whatsoever within the borders of Maryland. Although new facts are constantly coming to light, I have found three hundred men who served in Maryland between 1632, its founding, and the founding of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1789. Small and unimportant details concerning these men are constantly being added to the file, but at the present time it is safe to assume that we have all of the important facts concerning every one of these three hundred clergymen, that we can determine their length of service in Maryland and something of their general reputation.

In this paper I shall present some of the more sordid details concerning those who have been reputed "scandalous and immoral clergymen." In so doing I think we can show that the number of clergymen who were definitely immoral, or who were definitely scandalous in their living, was such a decided minority that it is an entirely unfair statement to speak of the Maryland clergy as being in any way inferior to the Anglican clergy generally or to the ministers of any other faith.

Maryland was founded in 1632, but between 1632 and 1675 we have only a few ephemeral characters in holy orders who crossed the actual pages of history. Very little is known of these men. They seem to

⁴W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America* (New York: Harper, 1930), pp. 63-64.

⁵C. C. Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (New York: Scribners, 1895), p. 68.

have established no really permanent work, and their transitory nature is such that we need hardly detain ourselves with them.

The first real character of historical definiteness is the Rev. John Yeo. John Yeo came to this country some time in the 1670's and seems to have officiated all over the Delmarva Peninsula^{2-a} at one time or another. Finally, in 1675, as a result of a bequest of land which was to be for the use of the first Protestant minister who would settle in Baltimore County, John Yeo moved from New Castle, Delaware, to the vicinity of what is now the city of Baltimore. He wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1675 and pointed out that, although there were ten or twelve counties with about twenty thousand inhabitants, there were but three clergymen of the Church of England.⁶ The Roman Catholics and the Quakers had ministers of their faiths. From that time on, there seems to have been an increasing number of Anglican priests in Maryland, but the exact number has not yet been determined.

In 1692, as a result of the "Glorious Revolution," the Church of England became the established church in Maryland. The province was laid out into geographic areas as parishes, and provisions were made for the support of the priests of the Church of England. There is considerable question as to the exact number of Anglican priests in Maryland in the year 1692. It has been stated that there were as many as sixteen. It has also been stated there were as few as three.⁷ Probably the truth lies somewhere between these two figures. By 1696 there were sixteen rectors.

Then in 1696 the bishop of London appointed the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray as his commissary for the province of Maryland. Bray spent four years in England in preparation for his coming to America, years which were spent profitably, years which were spent in developing his system of parochial libraries, arranging for clergymen to come to this country, and in establishing the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, commonly called the S. P. C. K. On December 20, 1699, he set sail for America, and arrived on the 12th of March following.

Bray had the task of setting up a definite system of government for the Church of England clergymen. His first attention was directed to the settlement and maintenance of the parochial clergy. He then began a visitation and tried to arrange for legislation which would continue the support of the clergy. In some ways he was not exactly judicious. The Calverts had adopted a very generous attitude toward

^{2-a}The Delmarva Peninsula includes all of the state of Delaware and all of the counties of Maryland and Virginia which are east of Chesapeake Bay: *Del* for Delaware, *mar* for Maryland counties, and *va* for Virginia counties.

⁶F. L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (New York: John Taylor, 1839), p. 49.

⁷F. L. Hawks, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

all religions, so that from 1632 to 1692, a period of sixty years, Roman Catholics, Churchmen, Presbyterians and Quakers had lived together. For a long time these four elements were the dominant religious groups in Maryland, and they had enjoyed some kind of peace and harmony among themselves.

But on Bray's advent he attempted to put through the legislature a bill which would require the use of the Book of Common Prayer "in every church or *other place of public worship*" in the province. This, of course, was like waving a red flag in front of a bull. This would prevent any kind of toleration for dissenters. It would prevent them from assembling for public worship at all, and it really increased the animosity of all parties against the Church of England. Nevertheless, the bill did go through and Dr. Bray has been given credit for its enactment. The result was that we find such strange bedfellows as Roman Catholics and Quakers uniting in the common cause against the Church.

On May 23rd, 1700, Bray held a visitation of the clergy and parishes in Maryland. Now we must understand what a visitation is. Today we are apt to use that term in a very broad sense to indicate the fact that the ordinary of the diocese bursts in at the last moment, dons his episcopal robes, confirms a class of candidates, preaches a sermon and hurries off to his next appointment. This is not a "visitation" in its technical sense. When Bray held a visitation, it was a gathering of the clergy and the wardens of the several parishes at Annapolis in a body, which we might well compare to a diocesan convention today. All were required by law to be present. And since they had no such system of bookkeeping or registration of the clergy such as we have today, the clergy were required to be present with their letters of orders and their licenses, and the wardens were required to be present with the pertinent data about the parish.

Bray has left us the articles of his visitation. They were published in London in 1700 under the title, *The Acts of Dr. Bray's Visitation held at Annapolis in Maryland, May 23-24-25, anno., 1700*, and contain all of the speeches and acts of that meeting. We find there were seventeen clergymen, not including Bray, resident in the province of Maryland. Bray proceeded to discuss with the clergy the necessity of catechizing, and the clergy passed resolutions concerning not only catechizing but also all of the instruction required of those who would be admitted to the Lord's Supper. Then they laid down rules concerning preaching, concerning the work of the commissary, and other details of administration such as might be enacted by any new organization. Consequently, these rules included several disciplinary regulations.

Two clergymen were openly reproved for their scandalous living,

and I shall mention them more fully in a moment. It is interesting to notice that all of the clergy present agree with the commissary as to the necessity of reproofing these wayward brethren, and they passed resolutions to that effect. It was in order to prevent any such thing from happening in the future that regulations were laid down. Thereupon the meeting ended.

One of the two men reproofed was Jonathan White. His offense seems to be that he conducted himself on shipboard in such manner as to give offense to some of the passengers. The exact nature of this charge is not known, but it was sufficient to have occasioned scandal on his passage from England. At the meeting of the clergy, he made his public confession of his sins, and this was accepted by the whole clerical gathering. Later in the year 1700, he became incumbent of William and Mary parish, Charles County, where he continued until 1708, and in that year became incumbent of Queen Anne parish in Prince George County and remained there until 1717. It is generally accepted that he died in December of 1717.

The second man reproofed by Bray was George Tubman. He came to Maryland in 1695 and was resident of Charles County, having charge of both William and Mary parish and Port Tobacco parish. The charge laid against him at the visitation was that he was a "polygamist." We should today at least be kind enough to say that he was a bigamist rather than a polygamist. He was charged with having married a wife here in this country and of having had a wife still living in England. He had been brought before the council of the province, and there he had confessed that in England, prior to his entrance into holy orders, he had been guilty of fornication, but that he had not married the woman in England. And he claimed that, if given sufficient time, he would be able to produce evidence that he was not married to the woman in England.

Bray said to him:

" . . . I conceive, so considerable a Record as you have now heard, will suffice to found Libel upon. But tho' your Crime should be as great as it appears to be, God forbid that you should not have a due time allowed to you to make your Defense. No, Sir, your Defense is what I desire, and would heartily rejoice to see."

And he went on in that light, pointing out the seriousness of the crime, a crime committed by a person in holy orders; secondly, by a missionary; thirdly, in a place where it gives greatest scandal, and allows the Papists and Quakers ample opportunity to malign the Church at a

time when it was politically inexpedient because of the support needed for the new Establishment Bill. Tubman was given until November 13, 1701, to make his defense. No evidence appears concerning his subsequent defense. He disappears from the scene in 1701.

This case is complicated by the political issue involved in the legal right to issue marriage licenses. In the *Council Records*, DH, No. 2, p. 163, for September 20, 1698, we find that Tubman was presented to the council on the common rumor for bigamy, as much given to sotting, drunkenness, and horse racing. He appeared before the governor and council on the 28th; the other charges were not noticed, but on the bigamy charge he admitted living in concubinage prior to his ordination in England. The governor was annoyed at his marrying in this country without the governor's license. Tubman pleaded that he had a license from the Rev. Mr. Coney of Annapolis, but the governor denied having given Coney the legal right to issue licenses, and the case was laid over. On November 3rd, the clergy of the colony, Nobbs, Jones, and others, requested that the governor take the case in hand, and the governor suspended him. The governor's canonical right to suspend a clergyman was questioned at the time, but Tubman submitted and the parish remained without ministerial services. Although this case is complicated by this political right to issue licenses, this is a case in which a negligent clergyman was effectively dealt with.

These are the two cases growing out of Bray's visitation in a country where the clergy had had no supervision whatsoever, where there was no one who could bring any influence to bear upon unworthy men. Yet we find that two out of the seventeen were undoubtedly unworthy of the cloth.

But it is interesting to observe that of the quotations with which I began this paper—of McConnell, Bacon, Sweet, and Tiffany—all are based upon this particular incident and may imply that this situation continued. It must be remembered that the Church was just beginning in Maryland in 1700 when disciplinary action was taken against two clergymen. Is this justification for the harsh statements which have been made and applied to the next eighty-eight years?

Bray had succeeded in having passed through the legislature the bill for the establishment of the Church, but it was by no means certain that this would be approved in England, because dissenters of all kinds were naturally opposed to paying taxes for the support of a ministry with which they were not in sympathy. Bray, therefore, returned to England and by his influence succeeded in having the bill approved in England and thus he secured the establishment of the Church. He resigned his office of commissary and attempted to have a successor appointed. Here he ran into difficulties because the new governor, Sey-

mour, was violently opposed to any kind of commissary. In fact, during his administration a bill was passed through the legislature which would place the clergy under the judicial proceeding of a committee composed of the governor and three laymen.⁸

This action has been misinterpreted by Tiffany, who says that "under these circumstances the morals of some of the clergy became so glaring that the legislature proceeded to establish an ecclesiastical court. . . . The measure came to nothing. The scandals in the Church went on."⁹

If one considers this quotation carefully, he will see that Tiffany claims that as a result of Bray's visitation a secular court was set up which was to try the clergy. As a matter of fact this had little to do with the actual morals of the clergy. What was actually going on was that the commissary and the governor were at loggerheads concerning their respective jurisdictions. Maryland had a peculiar situation. The Calverts had been given the province of Maryland, and they were to own it and to have all the rights of governing it such as the king and queen had in England. Maryland was a palatinate. The only comparable situation in England was that of the prince bishop of Durham, who in ancient times had full jurisdiction over his territory. He could set up his own laws, he could organize his own courts, and he was not only civil but also ecclesiastical governor. Lord Baltimore was in a similar position. He had by his charter the right of nomination and induction into every cure within his province. Except that he did not actually perform sacerdotal functions, he or his governor acting for him was the ordinary. He had full control over the clergy, except for the questionable jurisdiction of the bishop of London. In actual practice, the bishop's authority amounted to little more than that of licensing the priest to officiate.

When Dr. Bray appeared in the picture as commissary for the bishop of London, the Church of England having been established in Maryland, he attempted to set up the full ecclesiastical jurisdiction such as the Church of England had in England. Bray wanted to assume to himself not only an advisory capacity as commissary but a judicial capacity. He writes:

"The Province itself is greatly desirous of having a person under such character amongst them, and towards his support hath done what in them lay to have the Judicial Office of the Commissary, which has the cognizance of Testamentary Causes annexed to that of the Lord Bishop of London; which Judicial Office, as they conceive it, will be best vested in some ecclesiasti-

⁸This was in 1704.

⁹Tiffany, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

cal person, so it would go a great way towards raising a support for one to exercise Jurisdiction over the Church and Clergy."

Now it is this difference of opinion concerning the rights and duties of controlling the clergy which caused the Assembly to pass the bill setting up a lay-judicial system of control. Of course, nothing came of this. The clergy immediately objected to London and the bill was not permitted.

In the meantime, although the secular authorities were talking about improving the quality of the clergy, the governor inducted Joseph Holt into the living in St. Mary's County. Bray objected to this as soon as he heard of it in England, because Holt had had a bad reputation in Virginia, having been deprived of his living by Commissary Blair for adultery, drunkenness and fighting; and Bray used this case as an example of the necessity for the commissary to have the right of induction into a parish. Bray was willing that the proprietor, or the governor in his stead, should nominate the living, but Bray felt that the Church could have no control whatever over the men unless the commissary had the right to refuse induction. It is interesting to observe that in nearly every case in which a "scandalous" clergyman is mentioned, the name is brought out because the writer wants some political power delegated to himself.

Joseph Holt was a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, A. B. 1688/9. From about 1696 to 1700, he was rector of Stratton-Major parish in King and Queen County, Virginia; then from 1700 or 1701 he was for five years in St. Mary's County, Maryland. He returned to England so that his misdemeanors in Maryland were at least of short duration. He was then appointed S. P. G. missionary to Barbados and became chaplain, catechist and doctor to the Codrington Estate, 1712 to 1714. This is an interesting case. Most of the books say that Maryland and Virginia were filled with the cast-offs of the S. P. G. It is generally claimed that the S. P. G., by reason of its strict control over the clergy, was able to enforce a higher degree of discipline and that they, therefore, had better men. Here at least is one case where Virginia got rid of an unworthy priest, who came to Maryland and did not last long there, and then was hired by the S. P. G.

Governor John Hart came into office in 1714. The bishop of London wrote to him and directed him to look into the morals, behaviour and general effectiveness of the clergy in Maryland. He called them together in June of 1714 and says of himself:

"Considering myself as a layman & unequal to the charge in hand, I was very tender in offering anything from myself, but digested her Majesty's instructions into Queries, a copy of which is enclosed to your Lordship with a representation of the clergy upon them, as also a letter from that Revd. Body." He then goes on to say: "There are among the clergy of Maryland many worthy persons, who deserve more encouragement than can be expected here. I am sorry to represent to your Lordship, on the contrary, that there are some whose education and morals are a scandal to their profession, & I am amazed how such illiterate men came to be in holy orders."¹⁰

The answer to his series of queries on the part of the governor, listed by Perry (page 81), includes the names of twenty-one men. Of this list of twenty-one men, whom Governor Hart says includes some of "a scandal to their profession," let us see what charges can be brought against them.

Thomas Baylye is listed by Weis as being at St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, from 1712 to 1723,¹¹ and in 1724 in Newport parish, Isle of Wight County, Virginia. Commissary Christopher Wilkinson in 1718 wrote to the bishop of London:

"At our last visitation the Church wardens made several presentments. One was of a Mr. Baylye (a clergyman lately come from the Western to our Shore in Somerset), for his excessive drinking, quarreling, and swearing, and I am very well informed that his behaviour hath been very irregular for several years past. I have cited him to appear in July next to answer the articles exhibited against him, and shall follow the instructions of my Commission."¹²

It is obvious that though Weis lists him in Baltimore from 1713 to 1723, that in 1718 he is found in Somerset County on the eastern shore of Maryland and by 1724 he had been settled in Virginia for some time. And the only thing which saved him from judicial proceedings on the part of the Virginia commissary was the fact that the commissary's renewed commission from the new bishop of London had not yet arrived.

Here is another case of a scandalous clergyman who kept on the move, and for whom the Church's disciplinary action, while it was not enough to unfrock him, was certainly enough to prevent him from being

¹⁰W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections of American Colonial Church*, IV, p. 78.

¹¹Frederick Lewis Weis, *Colonial Churches and the Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776* (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), p. 22.

¹²Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Also see Brydon, *op. cit.*, p. 386, concerning his activities in Virginia.

a burden for any length of time in any particular place. On the other hand, though I do not minimize his drunkenness or his swearing or his quarreling, the word "scandal" must be taken with a certain degree of discretion, because we find that in one case the "grave scandal" which had been caused by Baylye was the fact that he had married a couple in a private house. We might even say that today we have not reached that state of grace where the marrying of individuals in private houses caused any degree of scandal whatsoever. So that Baylye does have something that could be said on his side of the case.

The second name on this list, about whom any breath of scandal has been raised, is that of John Donaldson. John Donaldson was a Scot and served as rector of King and Queen parish, St. Mary's County, Maryland, from 1715 to 1747. There are two references, which we have been able to discover, which seem to imply any kind of misconduct on the part of Donaldson. The first of these is found in an anonymous publication called *Character of the Clergy in Maryland*, which was written in 1722. This is a very interesting document. It lists twenty-two clergymen, gives their parishes and counties and a statement of character after each name. Some indication of the character of the writer of the document may be found in the remarks placed after every man's name. For example, Samuel Skippon is called "a Whig & an excellent scholar & good liver." Joseph Colbatch is called "a Whig & one of the best of men." Robert Scott is called "a Whig, & a good Christian." Christopher Wilkinson is "a Whig & a truly good man." Henry Nichols is "a Whig & one of the best of men." Daniel Mainadier is "a Whig of the first rank & reputed a good liver but a horrid preacher."

But let us see what happens to John Donaldson. John Donaldson is called "a Grand Tory, a Rake." But he seems to be in Tory company for you find James Wilkinson is called "an Idiot, & Tory." Thomas Robinson is a "Grand Tory." George Ross is "a Tory & belongs to the Society." So it would seem that the character of a clergyman in Maryland to the writer of this interesting document in 1722 means that one must be a Whig or be damned.

This is further borne out by a letter written in 1724 by the Rev. Giles Rainsford. He castigates Donaldson for being drunk, for refusing the sacrament, and for lying. William Machonchie is also described by Rainsford as "a mere nuisance, & makes the Church stink." But when you look into the character of William Machonchie you find that he, like Donaldson, is a Scot. And then you turn to James Wilkinson, who is also among those who have incurred the wrath of Giles Rainsford, and you find that Wilkinson, like Donaldson and like Machonchie, is a Scot—he it was who was called "an Idiot, & Tory" in 1722.

When you put all this together, it seems to be quite obvious that the politics of the clergyman, whether he be Whig or be Tory, and that the origin of the clergyman, whether he be English or be Scot, had much to do with the kind of character which was ascribed to him by some men.

The next man to be considered in this list is Henry Hall. Henry Hall signed for the royal bounty on January 10, 1697/8, and was licensed to Maryland, became the first rector of St. James parish, Herring Creek, Ann Arundel County, and remained there until his death in 1721. Mr. Thomas John Hall of Tracys Landing, Maryland, a great-great-grandson of Henry Hall, informs me that Hall was born at Horsham, England, on June 20, 1676, and graduated from Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1697. He could not, therefore, have been in Calvert County in 1694, as stated in Weis' *Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies*. There is some little confusion about Calvert County in 1694, but the most probable answer is that Richard Hull, K. B., 7 March, 1693/4, is the name to be followed. Hall was so well thought of that in 1714 he was appointed commissary for the bishop of London in Maryland, but he refused to accept the position.¹³

In the visitation of Jacob Henderson in 1717, unnamed charges were brought against Hall. He asked for a copy of the charges, which were given to him. Having read the charges, he refused to accept the jurisdiction of the commissary in the case.¹⁴ Then in the following year, 1718, the bishop of London wrote to Governor Hart concerning Hall and said his "character I am so well pleased with, that I am concerned with you to have removed him to make way for a person whose conduct has been so obnoxious."¹⁵ In the same year, June 17th, Commissary Henderson wrote to the bishop of London and said:

"As they thus drew me in joining such application, so they told me it was necessary, in order to succeed, that I should lay aside the prosecution I had on foot against Mr. Henry Hall, Rector of St. James', for threatening your Lordship, & most audaciously contemning your authority and the exercise of it, and giving much scandal by Drunkenness . . ."¹⁶

Henderson continues and says that Hall had refused to accept the jurisdiction of the commissary, and had offered to have the charges against him adjudicated by four other clergymen. When they agreed that he should ask pardon from Henderson, Hall drew a remonstrance to the Assembly. But as you read the correspondence further, you

¹³Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 82.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 110.

find that Henderson's only objection to Hall is that he and Thomas Cockshutt had "most scandalously" raised up a faction against Lord Baltimore, because, they claimed, he was a Roman Catholic. The whole affair, and the correspondence is all in Perry's Maryland volume of the *Collections*, appears rather ludicrous. The real reasons for the difficulties between Hall and Henderson do not appear at all, for they lay, in all probability, in the family relationship, probably in a family feud, for Henderson had married Mary, the third wife of the late Mareen Duvall, and was, therefore, Hall's step-father-in law, Hall having married Mary, the daughter of Mareen Duvall by a former marriage.

It is highly significant that when the clergy of Maryland set up what we should now call a "standing committee" to deal with the affairs of the Church and to consult with the governor, Henry Hall was the first of six such men named. Here again you find that the so-called scandalous charges against this Church of England priest are tied-up so clearly with his political endeavors that one can at least question the charges of drunkenness against him.

The next man on the list is one whom the governor can scarcely call an illiterate man, for he is William Tibbs, Bachelor of Arts from Merton College, Oxford, 1698, and was rector of St. Paul's, Baltimore, from 1702 to 1732. Jacob Henderson writes concerning him on March 13, 1731/2:

"Mr. Tibbs, against whom there is now a complaint lodged and which I transmitted to your Lordship, continues as bad as ever and proclaims defiance against any power whatever. He is rich and will make strong opposition. I dare not venture to call him to account for want of the Royal Commission."¹⁷

The charges of the church warden and vestrymen of St. Paul's against Tibbs to Commissary Henderson are found in Perry on page 309 and relate the following: (1) He lived outside of his parish. (2) That he set up his clerk, a person convicted of felony, to read the service. His clerk included the absolution. (3) That he comes very seldom to church himself. (4) That he seldom administers the Lord's Supper. (5) That he refuses to bury his parishioners. (6) Though they admit that by reason of his great age and weakness he cannot perform the duties of his station, yet he will not make any allowance to any of the neighboring clergy to assist him. (7) They cite instances of swearing and drunkenness, and they ask that justice be done and the public worship of God be duly celebrated in the parish.

Henderson in his letter of October 11th agrees with them. There seems to be little to be said in favor of Tibbs. He is one of the cases

¹⁷Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

in which the charges against the Maryland clergy are undoubtedly true.

Here then are six men who signed the address to Governor Hart in 1714 along with thirteen other clergymen. Of these thirteen, there appears no contemporary evidence which I have come across to show that they were in any way "scandalous." And even of the six men, the charge of "scandalous living" is so involved with the political exigencies of the time that one must be very careful in using it.

One hopeless case for whom no defense can really be offered is that of John Urmston. John Urmston came to this country in 1709, was S. P. G. missionary in North Carolina from 1709 to 1720, then was employed temporarily at Christ Church in Philadelphia where he raised a faction, and then went to Maryland. In 1724 he became rector of North Sassafras parish in Cecil County, Maryland. His "scurrilous, profane, intemperate, mendacious" manner of living was such that he had a bad reputation no matter where he went. In 1731, the sheriff of the county refused to pay him, and inducted Hugh Jones into the parish some time prior to October 11, 1931.¹⁸

Urmston then seems to have crossed into Delaware, officiated for a time at Appoquinimy and at Lewes, Delaware. He died in 1732 when his lodgings were burned, probably while he was in a drunken stupor. It may have taken eleven years to try the patience of the Maryland laity to their utmost, but the point is that Urmston was dismissed from his position by reason of his scandalous conduct. I should say that this case, although one swallow does not make a summer, certainly gives evidence that discipline could be brought to bear upon the clergy when the case required it.

The next case is that of Thomas Phillips, who matriculated at All Souls College, Oxford, 1698, aged eighteen. From 1707 to 1715 he was a missionary in the Leeward Islands. He arrived in Virginia in 1716 and was settled by Governor Spotswood in "the Parish of the Potomack River" in 1716. There is no parish in Virginia by that name and it is not possible to know what was meant by Governor Spotswood. Phillips only remained a year or two, and then removed to Newfoundland, where he remained until 1720. He then became incumbent of the parish on Kent Island in Maryland in 1720 and was there as late as 1731. In the *Character of the Clergy in Maryland*, Phillips is discussed as, "Tried for his life in Virginia for shooting a man. Reformed."¹⁹

The letter of the vestry of Kent Island to the bishop of London, dated July 17, 1726, pointed out that Phillips arrived in Kent Island without

¹⁸Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 126.

a parish, and that the Kent Island parish had been without an incumbent for quite some time. They, therefore, hired him on a temporary basis, during which he behaved himself "gravely reverently and piously to the outward appearance"; but that after his induction his true character was disclosed. They accused him as follows: (1) Of failure to visit the sick. (2) Of failure to bury the dead, unless he can preach a funeral sermon. (3) Of refusal to baptize infants unless the sponsors are communicants, and of being willing to accept communicants who are sinners in preference to non-communicants who are leading "acceptable" lives. (4) Of insisting on beginning the service on time. (5) "His example seems no more edifying than his behaviour relating to his office, for he keeps and now lives with him, a convicted transported woman servant by whom it is thought he has one Bastard, & which he keeps in the house with him, and has endeavored what he can to keep the whore from justice."

The first four charges would seem to indicate that Phillips was insufficiently bending in his attitude toward rural life, although he could have cited the Canons of 1603 in his own defense, for they treat of like cases. The last charge, of course, is a serious one. But it is to be noted that, though this letter is signed by ten members of the vestry and others, this last charge is not by any manner of means proven, for they themselves say, "by whom it is thought." For the sake of the record, however, we will grant that Thomas Phillips was one of the immoral clergy. He did not remove from the parish for another five years.

John Wright was licensed to Maryland in 1729, but he went to Virginia and held some parish there, and, according to Jacob Henderson, he ran away with another man's wife.²⁰ The woman was rescued from him, and in 1731 and 1732 he was wandering through Maryland. Jacob Henderson wrote to the bishop of London, expressing the hope that he would not be inducted into any parish in Maryland. It seems that Henderson's hope was fulfilled, because Wright was back in Virginia in Brunswick parish, King George County, in 1733 or 1734. Wright, therefore, cannot be attributed to Maryland for he never held a parish there.

This same sort of thing is also true in the case of James Cosgreve (also Colgreve, Congrave, and Congreve). We hear of him through a letter written by Henry Addison to the bishop of London on October 29, 1766. He tells the whole story of Cosgreve, how he was an Irishman who lived a vagrant life strolling from place to place through most of the colonies, and had kept "a house of public entertainment" in Philadelphia. He had been in the army in the siege of Louisburg. He

²⁰Perry, *op cit.*, p. 302.

then became a master of the free school in Prince George County, Maryland. He married, and his wife left him within a week because of his violence to her when he was drunk. He got into debt and ran away. Then he seems to have been ordained in England, and, returning, officiated in Prince George County and at Annapolis. So indignant were the churchmen in those places that he was never inducted and moved on to North Carolina. He, too, must not be counted among the dissolute Maryland clergy.

We now turn to the case of Jonathan Boucher. Jonathan Boucher was one of the most prolific writers of any of the men who came to Maryland. He was born on March 1, 1737 (March 12, 1738, new style). He became a school teacher, and then came to America and became private tutor in a Virginia family. George Washington's stepson was among his pupils. He returned to England in 1762 for ordination. In 1771, he was appointed rector of Queen Anne's Parish, Prince George's, after having held two cures in Virginia.

Probably one of the most interesting books of colonial Maryland was that written by Jonathan Boucher entitled, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist*. This was reprinted in 1925 by the Houghton Mifflin Company, and is well worth reading.

Boucher was a Tory, and was outspoken in his opposition to the American Revolution. He was threatened by the revolutionary forces around Annapolis that physical harm might come to him if he continued to preach in this manner. Consequently, having been threatened, he insisted on preaching on what he believed to be the truth, and his last sermon was preached in St. Barnabas' Church in 1775. He went into the pulpit, pulled a pair of horse pistols from the pockets of his cassock, placed them on each side of the pulpit and proceeded to preach. He ended his sermon by saying: "As long as I live, yea, while I have my being, I will proclaim, 'God save the King!'" As he left the pulpit, the militia gathered about him and marched him out of the church. He returned to England in 1775, held important posts there, and finally died in 1804.

Now the reason I mention Boucher is because one secondary writer, whom I have read but unfortunately did not make note of at the time, cited this case of a clergyman in Maryland who actually went into the pulpit armed with a pair of horse pistols, and this was cited as an example of the dissolute lives lived by the Maryland clergy. Here again is a case where a writer has pulled one instance from a man's life out of its context and has unfairly cited that as proof of a position which I consider untenable. The outspoken defense of what a clergyman considers to be right is usually cited as an instance of his high moral standing. It is for

this sort of thing that we held Pastor Niemöller in high esteem during the war. It is for this that a hue and cry is raised over the case of Cardinal Mindszenty today. Yet when cited in the case of Boucher, it is used to prove his dissolute character.

The next case is that of Bennett Allen. Bennett Allen came from England in 1766, having been ordained by the bishop of Oxford in 1759, and was a warm friend of Lord Baltimore. The proprietor was so friendly to him that he directed Governor Sharpe to induct Allen into one or two parishes worth not less than £150. He was handsome in appearance, aristocratic, well-educated, but he was also called a controversialist, a brawler, a duelist, a gambler and a sot. It was he who was taken as the typical parson by Winston Churchill when he wrote his novel, *Richard Carvel*. Because of Baltimore's letter, Allen was inducted in January, 1767, into St. Anne's, Annapolis. Allen objected that this parish did not pay him enough to keep him in liquor. Consequently, contrary to the law, he was placed in charge of St. James', Ann Arundel County. He challenged Samuel Chew to a duel and attempted to cane Walter Dulany. He was then inducted into All Saints parish, Frederick County. The parishioners, knowing his reputation, attempted to prevent this. So to keep the peace and his pay, Allen withdrew to Philadelphia and continued to live there or in Hagerstown. He hired Jeremiah Berry and Daniel McKennon as curates, and he visited the parish church once or twice a year. He did, however, give some attention to the Antietam congregation. We also find Bartholomew Bennett referred to as a curate. Allen returned to England some time prior to 1781.

Now the only difficulty with this story of Allen is that many of the references to him depend upon letters written by Jonathan Boucher. It is certain that no love was lost between Boucher and Allen, for when Boucher left Virginia he had been promised by the governor that he would be inducted into the first vacant parish. Unfortunately for Boucher, Allen, armed with the letters from Lord Baltimore, appeared on the scene at the same time and consequently was inducted into the Annapolis parish before Boucher. Boucher apparently never forgave him for it.

Another instance of Allen's attitude may be seen in his feeling toward the Germans, who moved into western Maryland and settled around Hagerstown. They objected to paying their tax of forty pounds of tobacco per person for the support of the Anglican clergy when they had to support their Lutheran clergy in addition. Allen was sufficiently cognizant of their claim to pay the German pastor a portion of his income. To say the least, although we cannot approve of Allen, he was an interesting character.

We have now listed fifteen men about whom any definite charge of scandalous living has been found. These men and their charges are as follows:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Charge</i>	<i>Disposition</i>	<i>Analysis.</i>
Jonathan White	"Scandalous manners" aboard ship.	Rebuked—public confession accepted.	Proved
George Tubman	"Polygamist" — denied charge.	Dismissed.	Doubtful
Joseph Holt	Adultery, drunkenness, fighting.	Left within 5 years.	Proved
Thomas Baylye	Drinking, quarreling, swearing. Married couple in private house.	To Virginia less than 5 years after citation.	Proved
John Donaldson	Drunk, refusing sacrament, lying.	Charge doubtful.	Doubtful
William Machonchie	A Scot—"makes Church stink."	Charge doubtful	Doubtful
James Wilkinson	"an Idiot, & Tory."	Charge doubtful.	Doubtful
Henry Hall	Drunkenness, questioning authority of Commissary, political opposition.	Charge doubtful	Doubtful
William Tibbs	Various negligences.	Probably proved.	Proved
John Urmston	Drunkenness, lying, etc.	Dismissed.	Dismissed
Thomas Phillips	Various charges.	Removed from parish after 5 years.	Proved
John Wright	Adulterer.	Never inducted.	Never inducted
James Cosgreve	Drunkenness, etc.	Never inducted.	Never inducted
Jonathan Boucher	Violence.	Not a true case.	Doubtful
Bennett Allen	Non-resident, drunkard.	War ousted him.	Proved

As we look over the list of these men and their charges, it would seem to me that they can be summed up under the following headings. In the case of five men, the charges have been proved against them, and they did not remove for some years after the charges had been proved. In one case the clergyman was publicly removed after public confession. Two men were dismissed. Six cases are doubtful as to the validity of the charges. Two men, who probably have the charges proved against them, were never inducted into any parish, and, therefore, cannot rightfully be called Maryland clergy. There are, therefore, eight cases of undoubted scandalous behavior out of three hundred men known to have served in Maryland. You may determine for yourself whether or not this number is sufficient to charge the whole of colonial Maryland clergy with being "scandalous livers."

The thought will immediately occur, if this small number of cases be the only ones that can be proven against the Maryland clergy, why have so many historians accepted the charges against them, and why has the term "Maryland parson" come to be known as a synonym for a scandalous clerk? This question can be answered in several ways.

First, the clergy were supported by taxes. It is extremely doubtful whether any man in any kind of public service can be supported by taxes without having his name and character blackened. From the first settler until the present day, Americans have been notorious in their opposition to any kind of taxation, and this is more particularly true when one's taxes are used to support any kind of religious establishment. It is even more particularly true when one does not agree religiously with the creed of that establishment. Consider what was said against New England clergymen by non-Congregationalists. If the clergy today were to be supported by taxes, it is probable that their characters might be besmirched in exactly the same way in which politicians also have a bad name among us. Whether it is true or not, people seem to want to believe any charge laid against a tax-supported person.

In the second place, as has been shown in the examination of the lives of some of these so-called scandalous clergymen, the politics of the time were so important to everyone, clergy and laity alike, that they were apt to charge their political opponents with all kinds of infamies. Throughout this period, there were not only the two great English parties, the Whigs and the Tories, but also the Jacobites, those who supported James II and his heirs after the "Glorious Revolution." And since Scotland in general was willing to support James, every Scotsman was suspected of disloyalty to the English crown. Since some of the Maryland clergy were Scotsmen, they were damned for being Jacobites, and if not Jacobites, at least Tories.

The third reason for the bad name of the Maryland clergy possibly came about by reason of the letters written by the clergymen themselves. There is a certain type of clergyman, not unknown today, who feels it his duty to be a Jeremiah, to point out all of the evils, all of the sins, and all of the misdemeanors in the Church, apparently hoping thereby to raise the standard of religion. We know today that this type of person presents an entirely one-sided picture. He never sees the good in the Church nor the good that the Church is doing. He is apt to be a rather tiresome fellow, and if, some two hundred years from now, someone were to collect the written sermons of many of these clergymen, not only of the Anglican Church, but of every group who

call themselves Christians in this country, they might be maligned for the supposed low state of Christian morality in A. D. 1949. This is not a true picture, and the same can be said of some of the Maryland clergy in the eighteenth century. In their letters to England, they pointed out all of the trials and tribulations of the Church in Maryland probably with one purpose: the clergy wanted a bishop so that the fullness of the Church might be found in Maryland. And because there was a means of supporting a bishop, it was the hope that the Establishment in Maryland might provide the beginnings of the episcopate in the New World.

The fourth reason that might be given for the bad name of the Maryland clergy is that the governors themselves sought greater control over the clergy. No one else should control the clergy if the governor could prevent it. If the clergy needed control, legislation might be provided whereby the governors could extend their authority. This is seen in the case of Joseph Colbatch. The bishop of London had informed the Maryland clergy that he was willing to consecrate a suffragan bishop, who should have his see in Maryland, and the Maryland clergy joined together and elected Joseph Colbatch. He was prepared to go to London for consecration. Whereupon a decree of *ne exeat* was issued by the local government, which prevented Colbatch from leaving Maryland for any cause whatsoever. And the desire to have a bishop was frustrated by the civil government, which meant to have no opposition in its control of the clergy.

The fifth reason for the bad reputation of the Maryland clergy is another instance of desire for control. As one reads the words of the day, he can see that not only were the clergy wanting greater control over the laity, particularly with respect to an ecclesiastical court set up under a bishop, and not only did the governors want to control the clergy, but the vestries wanted to keep their control of the clergy as well. Part of the picture which must be considered is this desire on the part of the laymen to keep their control over the clergy. The anti-clericalism which one finds throughout the Maryland scene in the colonial era is part and parcel with the whole theme which underlies the English Reformation. Trevelyan is quite right when he sees the desire for lay control of the clergy and a general anti-clerical movement as the principle by which the Reformation was brought about in England. This same attitude is to be found throughout the colonial period in Maryland.

The last reason for the bad name given to the Maryland clergy

depends upon the nonconformists, and more particularly upon those of Methodistical tendencies (I might say there were some of these within the Church in the early period as well), who damned every clergyman who did not have a heart-warming experience, a conversion, such as Wesley had known. As one reads phrases in Asbury's *Journal*, and as he reads Bishop Meade's *Old Churches in Virginia* (in which, by the way, he has a section on the Maryland clergy), he can see that the "evil clergy" about which they speak were undoubtedly men who were performing their tasks in the same way that most Anglican clergymen perform them today, but who had little patience with the emotionalism of the frontier camp meeting. The attitude of these men, Asbury, Meade and the like, has been repeated time and time again by historians who depend upon them as sources.²¹ One must question their objective attitude and realize that theirs is entirely a subjective representation, and is not entirely a true picture.

So much then for the evil lives of the Maryland clergy. Of necessity the worst of the lot have been examined.

Had time permitted, some of the shining lights of the day might have been discussed in detail. There was Thomas Bacon, for example, whose monumental work on the laws of Maryland is a basic necessity for understanding anything having to do with the legal situation in the colonial period. There was Joseph Colbatch, called by his brethren to be their bishop. Aeneas and George Ross, who served not only in Maryland but as S. P. G. missionaries in Delaware as well, have been written of in another place.²² Then there was William Smith, who wrote a book of chants and psalmody among other works, and to whom we are indebted for the Office of Institution of Ministers in the American Book of Common Prayer. There was William West, of whom even Asbury could say many good things, and from whom Asbury regularly received his communion. There was William Wilkinson, whose descendants were important people for several generations in William and Mary parish in St. Mary's County. There were the Alexander Williamses, and Commissaries Wilkinson and Henderson.

These names are but a few of the many that could be mentioned and of whom any church in any age might well be proud. These men represent the better side of the picture. We must remember, there-

²¹Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America* (New York: Harpers, 1881), is a perfect example of the anti-Anglican bias.

²²Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1947).

fore, that they represent two hundred and ninety-three cases as opposed to the seven cases of proved "scandalous living" in the colonial period among the Maryland clergy.²³

²³Two men have not been discussed in this article. The first is the case of Col. JOHN COODE, who, some claim, was in holy orders. Research on him is not complete at present, but my tentative judgment is that he was not ordained. Some say that he was ordained by the bishop of Exeter. The diocesan registry office has no record of such an ordination between 1680 and 1701. A search is now in progress covering the earlier years.

The second case is that of RICHARD BROWNE, a native of Trinity parish, Charles County, but educated in Scotland. He was licensed for Maryland, 9 July 1750, and received the king's bounty, 18 July 1750. On 21 January 1750/51, he was inducted into King and Queen parish, St. Mary's County. Gossip had it that he had murdered a slave in 1768, but the grand jury failed to find a true bill of indictment. In 1773, he resigned his living (reserving a small part of the stipend) in favor of his curate, George Goldie, and lived on his paternal estate until his death in 1789. The problem involved in this case is simply this: Are we to judge him guilty of murder when his own contemporaries, who presumably knew the case, refused to bring in an indictment.



THE REVISION OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER
AS ORDERED BY AN AMERICAN CIVIL
LEGISLATURE

IN CONVENTION, July 5, 1776.

RESOLVED, that the following sentences in the morning and evening service shall be omitted: *O Lord save the King. And mercifully bear us when we call upon thee.*

That the 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th sentences in the litany, for the King's Majesty, and the royal family, &c. shall be omitted.

That the two prayers for the King's Majesty, and the royal family, in the morning and evening service, shall be omitted.

That the prayers in the communion service which acknowledge the authority of the King, and so much of the prayer for the church militant as declares the same authority, shall be omitted, and this alteration made in one of the above prayers in the communion service: *Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy word that the hearts of all rulers are in thy governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom, we humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the hearts of all the magistrates of this commonwealth, that in all their thoughts, words, and works they may evermore seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, O merciful father for thy dear son's sake, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

That the following prayer shall be used, instead of the prayer for the King's Majesty, in the morning and evening service: *O Lord, our heavenly father, high and mighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold the magistrates of this commonwealth, and so replenish them with the grace of thy holy spirit, that they may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way, endue them plentifully with heavenly gifts; strengthen them, that they may vanquish and overcome all their enemies; and finally, after this life, they may obtain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

In the 20th sentence of the litany use these words: *That it may please thee to endue the magistrates of this commonwealth with grace, wisdom, and understanding.*

In the succeeding one, use these words: *That it may please thee to bless and keep them, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth.*

Let every other sentence of the litany be retained, without any alteration, except the above sentences recited.

(A copy) **EDMUND PENDLETON, President.**
J. Tinsell, clerk of the Convention.

The Proclamation of the Virginia Constitutional
Convention of 1776

THE REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK BY AN AMERICAN LEGISLATURE

By G. MacLaren Brydon*

THE civil government of Virginia during the years 1774 to 1776, passed from the royal governor and General Assembly into the power of a series of conventions, whose members were elected by the people themselves of the several elective districts in the colony. There were six of these conventions whose members were so elected.¹ The second, held in the city of Richmond in March, 1775, won great fame because of Patrick Henry's immortal speech in support of his bill to organize the militia and put the colony into a position of defense.

The sixth and last of these conventions was held in May, June and July, 1776.² On May 15, 1776, it adopted unanimously a resolution directing its delegates in the Continental Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, to move in Congress a declaration of independence of the thirteen American colonies. On the same day, the convention adopted another resolution, appointing a committee who should have the twofold duty of preparing a declaration of rights of the individual citizen, and also to prepare and present the ordinances which would be required to create a form of government of Virginia as a free and independent commonwealth.

This committee prepared, under the leadership of George Mason, the Declaration of Rights, which was adopted on June 12, 1776, and then presented from time to time, and secured the adoption of, the several bills creating the various parts of the new government. When the plan was finally adopted, Patrick Henry was elected the first governor of the proposed new commonwealth, a council of advice consisting of eight members was elected, and the members of the State Senate; and the several members of the Convention were declared to be the members of the new House of Delegates, each one representing the county or borough which had elected him to the convention.

Then the convention paused, waiting for the news to come from Philadelphia of the adoption of a declaration of independence.

*Dr. Brydon is historiographer of the diocese of Virginia, senior associate editor of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, and author of *Virginia's Mother Church* (Richmond, 1947), pp. xxi, 571.

¹For some account of these conventions, see Matthew Page Andrews, *Virginia, the Old Dominion*, pp. 278, 316, et seq.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 316-19.

It is generally known that on July 2, 1776, the Continental Congress adopted in principle the declaration of American independence, leaving to its committee the drafting of the final form in which that declaration should be given to the world. This final draft was adopted on July 4th. But the action taken by Congress on July 2nd was definitely the Declaration of Independence for which the Virginian convention had been waiting. A post-rider must have started immediately upon the trip to Williamsburg; two hundred miles as the crow flies; but there were many and wide rivers to be ferried across.

The news must have reached Williamsburg late on the evening of the fourth or early on the morning of the fifth of July. There is no existing record to tell of that ride, or when the news was received. But on the morning of July 5th, the convention adjourned to meet again in October as the House of Delegates; Patrick Henry was then immediately inaugurated as governor, and the other elected officials took the oaths of their respective offices.

The last action recorded in the journal of that day, immediately before its adjournment, was the adoption of an ordinance amending the Prayer Book of the Established Church of Virginia, in order to adapt its worship to the changed conditions of independence. Their precedent for taking such action lay in the fact that, from the beginning of the colony of Virginia, the General Assembly had always legislated for the temporal affairs of its established Church. There was indeed no other body which could enact laws for its government. The convention took over this duty along with the other duties of government.

The ordinance they adopted was then directed to be published in the *Virginia Gazette*, as the official announcement of the convention to the rectors, vestries and people of all the parishes in the commonwealth. The ordinance appears in the (Dixon and Hunter) edition of the *Virginia Gazette* for July 20, 1776.

IN CONVENTION, JULY 5, 1776

RESOLVED, that the following sentences in the morning and evening service shall be omitted: *O Lord save the King. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.*

That the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th sentences in the litany, for the King's Majesty, and the royal family, &c. shall be omitted.^a

^aThe last edition of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England used in this country was probably the Oxford quarto of 1775. According to this edition, "the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th sentences in the litany, for the King's Majesty, and the royal family," were as follows:

That it may please thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping

That the two prayers for the King's Majesty, and the royal family, in the morning and evening service, shall be omitted.⁴

That the prayers in the communion service⁵ which acknowledge the authority of the King, and so much of the prayer for the church militant⁶ as declares the same authority, shall be omitted, and this alteration made in one of the above prayers in the communion service: *Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy word that the hearts of all rulers are in thy governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom, we humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the hearts of all the magistrates of this commonwealth, that in all their thoughts, words, and works they may evermore seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, O merciful father for thy dear son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*

of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, thy Servant GEORGE, our most gracious King and Governor;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to rule his heart in thy faith, fear, and love, and that he may evermore have affiance in thee, and ever seek thy honour and glory;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to be his defender and keeper, giving him the victory over all his enemies;

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

That it may please thee to bless and preserve our gracious Queen Charlotte, his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family.

We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord.

⁴"The two prayers for the King's Majesty, and the royal family, in the morning and evening service" in the English Prayer Book, which were to be omitted, were the following:

A PRAYER FOR THE KING'S MAJESTY

O LORD our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold our most gracious Sovereign Lord, King GEORGE; and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that he may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue him plentifully with heavenly gifts; grant him in health and wealth long to live; strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and finally, after this life, he may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A PRAYER FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY

Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless our gracious Queen, Charlotte, his Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family: Endue them with thy holy Spirit;

That the following prayer shall be used, instead of the prayer for the King's Majesty, in the morning and evening service: *O Lord, our heavenly father, high and mighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, most heartily we beseech thee with thy favor to behold the magistrates of this commonwealth, and so replenish them with the grace of thy holy spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way; endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; strengthen them, that they may vanquish and overcome all their enemies; and finally, after this life, they may obtain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.*

In the 20th sentence of the litany use these words: *That it may please thee to endue the magistrates of this commonwealth with grace, wisdom, and understanding.*

In the succeeding one, use these words: *That it may please*

enrich them with thy heavenly grace; prosper them with all happiness; and bring them to thine everlasting kingdom; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

⁵⁴The prayers in the communion service which acknowledge the authority of the King," which were to be omitted, were the two collects immediately following the decalogue and immediately preceding the collect of the day, as follows:

Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting and power infinite; Have mercy upon the whole Church; and so rule the heart of thy chosen servant GEORGE, our King and Governour, that he (knowing whose Minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory: and that we, and all his subjects (duly considering whose authority he hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed Word and Ordinance; through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the Holy Ghost liveth and reigneth ever, one God, world without end. *Amen.*

Or,

Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy Word, that the hearts of Kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom: We humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the heart of GEORGE thy Servant, our King and Governor, that, in all his thoughts, words, and works, he may ever seek thy honour and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness: Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

⁵⁵The portion of the prayer for the Church militant which was to be omitted was as follows:

. . . We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; and especially thy Servant GEORGE our King; that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: And grant unto his whole Council, and to all that are put in authority under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. . . .

THE "AMENDED" PRAYER FOR CIVIL RULERS

¶ Then the Priest standing up, shall
say,

O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.

Answer. And grant us thy salvation. *blesse & preserve them all*

✕ Priest. O Lord, ~~save the King~~

Answer. And mercifully hear us, when we call upon thee.

¶ A Prayer for the King's Majesty.

O Lord, our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of ~~princes~~ *the universe*, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee, with thy favour to behold ~~our most~~ *the Majesty* gracious Sovereign Lord King ~~GEORGE~~; and so replenish ~~him~~ with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that ~~they~~ may alway incline to thy will, and walk in thy way: Endue ~~him~~ plenteously with heavenly gifts; ~~grant him~~ *the same* in health and wealth long to live; strengthen ~~him~~ that ~~they~~ may vanquish and overcome all ~~his~~ enemies; and finally after this life, ~~he~~ may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The above appears in the Prayer Book used by St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County, Virginia, from 1776 to 1789



thee to bless and keep them, giving them grace to execute justice, and to maintain truth.

Let every other sentence of the litany be retained, without any alteration, except the above sentences recited.

EDMUND PENDLETON, President.

J. TAZEWELL,

(A copy)

Clerk of the Convention.

A comparison of these two new prayers with those in the Prayer Book then in use in Virginia will show at once that both were simply adaptations of prayers still to be found in the Prayer Book of the Church of England; the one basic change being the insertion of the phrase "the magistrates of this commonwealth" in place of the words describing the king. A comparison also with the prayers in the American Book of Common Prayer of today may be of interest as showing the changes that have been made since this first effort to adapt prayers for a monarch and his family to prayers for the elected rulers of a democracy.

These changes in the Prayer Book, thus formally adopted and publicly announced, remained in use in the Virginia parishes throughout the whole period of war. Because the Church was still established, no clergyman could remain in charge of a parish unless he had taken an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth. Records now available show that with more than a hundred Anglican clergymen in the colony in 1776, not more than twenty or twenty-five declined to take it. Those Tory clergymen, who desired to do so, were permitted, and helped, to return to England; the others were permitted to live quietly upon their glebes without molestation, as being in honor bound to give no aid or information to the enemy. Several of these latter resumed the charge of their parishes after the war had ended.

The Established Church was finally disestablished by action of the General Assembly in December, 1784, and in the same month the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia was chartered, and held its first convention in May, 1785. This ecclesiastical convention made no effort at amendment of the Prayer Book, but continued to use it as already amended in 1776. This "Prayer Book of 1776" therefore remained in official use in the Episcopal Church of Virginia until it was superseded by the first American Prayer Book as set forth by the General Convention of 1789.

There does, however, seem to have been, in some cases at least, the introduction of an unauthorized versicle, "O Lord, bless these United

States," with its proper response, in place of the deleted, "O Lord, save the King." This is shown in the electrotype cut of the versicles and the prayer for the magistrates of this commonwealth, from the morning prayer service, as written contemporaneously in a Prayer Book used in one of the churches in St. Paul's Parish, Hanover County.⁷ How many other clergymen introduced such a new versicle is not known, as no other Prayer Book carrying the written amendments of the prayers of 1776 is known to be in existence.⁸ It would seem probable that a petition for these United States would come into use only after the Articles of Confederation of the United States, as finally signed in 1781, had been published. Under the terms of that confederation, the presiding officer of Congress was called "The President of the United States in Congress Assembled."⁹

An interesting question might be asked as to the use in Virginia of the "Proposed Prayer Book" of 1786, set forth by the General Convention of that year. A memorandum entered by the Rev. David Griffith, in his private account-book, shows that Dr. William White, later the first bishop of Pennsylvania, had sent a total of 788 copies of the "Proposed Book" to Virginia; of which 562 had been shipped to Richmond, 214 to a book-dealer in Fredericksburg, and 12 to one in Alexandria.¹⁰ The number of copies sent to the towns of Richmond and Fredericksburg would seem to indicate a general interest in that book in the sections of country served by these two market towns; and they may perhaps have been used by some of the clergy in their services, but no actual record of such use seems to be now in existence.

⁷This Prayer Book was used for many years by the Rev. Patrick Henry, uncle of the orator, who held the charge of St. Paul's Parish from 1737 until his death in 1777.

⁸The "Revolutionary Prayer Book" of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, still in existence, has the Prayer for the King's Majesty in evening prayer amended in handwriting to conform to the wording of the Prayer for the President of the United States in the American Prayer Book of 1789. See electrotype cut of this page of that Prayer Book in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, X (1941), opp. p. 366.

⁹See William Bennett Munro, *The Government of the United States*, p. 16. See M. P. Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

¹⁰*The Account Book of the Rev. David Griffith*, surgeon and chaplain in the Continental Army, rector of Fairfax Parish (Alexandria), Virginia, 1780-89, and first bishop-elect of Virginia, is now owned by the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

CREATION, OLD AND NEW*

By Charles Henry Brent†

"The earth was waste and void: and darkness was on the face of the deep: and the spirit of God moved on the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and there was light."—Genesis 1:2, 3.

THIS description of the beginning of all things is a true description of the beginning of the new epoch of which we men are to be joint creators with God. There is only one creative process outside of which there can be no creation. The curious thing is that the first promise of creation is the absence of creation, a waste and void; the preliminary stage of order is absence of order, or, if we are considering a new order, it is disorder. To me it is an unspeakable comfort that God, in His great primal task, had the same experience that He requires us to face. The only indication of the superb universe which was to be was the plan of it in His mind and a chaotic tangle begging for His harmonizing touch. Think of the Divine perplexity—I speak in human terms of that which language is powerless to picture with ac-

*This sermon, hitherto unpublished, was preached in the Pro-Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Paris, France, on the first Sunday after Epiphany, January 12, 1919. It is Bishop Brent's message to the post-war world of 1919. Brent was a great figure in the life of the Church, and what he thought and preached concerning world conditions in 1919 is historically significant.

For this contribution, HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is indebted to the Rev. Frederick W. Kates, who edited, with a biographical introduction, *Things That Matter: The Best of the Writings of Bishop Brent* (New York, 1949), the Presiding Bishop's Book for Lent (1949).—Editor's note.

†CHARLES HENRY BRENT (April 9, 1862-March 27, 1929) was born in Newcastle, Ontario, Canada, the son of the Rev. Canon Henry Brent and Frances Sophia (Cummings). Trinity College, University of Toronto, B. A., 1884; M. A., 1889; D. D., 1901. He was ordained deacon, 1886, and priest, 1887, by Bishop Sweatman of Toronto. Curate, St. Paul's Cathedral, Buffalo, New York, 1887; St. John the Evangelist, Boston, Mass., 1888-1901.

First missionary bishop of the Philippine Islands, 1901-1918. Chief of Chaplains, American Expeditionary Force, 1917-1919. Bishop of Western New York, 1918-1929. Bishop of the American Episcopal Church in Europe, 1926-1929.

Bishop Brent had an international influence, beginning with his presidency of the International Opium Conference, Shanghai, 1909, through his presidency of the First World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, 1927.

He was buried in the Bois de Vaux Cemetery, Lausanne. The grave marker, in addition to giving some of the information above, concludes with the words:

A Servant of God
A Friend of Humanity
An Apostle of Christian Unity

curacy—as His hand played over the elements and laid the foundations of creation. Added to confusion there was darkness, the mother and protector of confusion. So, after all, God does not expect of us, in perplexity and pain, more than He required of Himself. It is not so much that He shares our experience as that He invites us to share His and prove that our likeness to Him is not superficial but fundamental. To talk about the perplexity and pain of God is possible if we think of Him as always being like Christ. If we eliminate the element of time, it is conceivable that every phase of suffering is a diamond point of joy. It is the separation of suffering from its ultimate goal, the viewing of it as an element apart instead of as the gymnasium of mind, heart and will that leave us groping and discouraged.

Whether in the case of God or in that of man, creation is not making something out of nothing. It is rather the establishment of equilibrium, the harmonizing and stabilizing of that which already is. That is certainly so, if our observation of history reveals the truth. It is so in the discouraging, inspiring undertaking to which this new year introduces us—the reaching of a righteous and lasting peace. It is the crowning effort of the ages. We call it reconstruction. It is really re-creation. Fortunately, the task is not all ours. The master-worker is always God. He is the supreme agent in the re-molding of life and the creation of order. He is working in and through us—also, and chiefly, beyond us. It is only where God's activities end that man's begin. All we have to do is that which He cannot do without us—the children's share of their Father's work. As He shares with us His task, so He shares with us His purpose, His final goal. There is such a thing as knowing His will. And in His will, the knowledge of it and the doing of it, is our peace.

Our preface to action in helping the world to find the road from which it has strayed is to contemplate the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the troubled human race and, as heirs of immortality, to borrow some of His indifference to time. Our generation can only do its day's work and, when we have done, creation will have only begun. We certainly have an earth that is waste and void on which to operate. Some of us may have thought that victory would usher us into the throne-room of peace, whereas victory is only a cessation of the conflict which has shaken mankind to pieces. It is a definite achievement gained through struggle. Peace, that goal of goals, is a settled order of harmony built upon the ground cleared by victory. It is a social temper of mind creative of favorable conditions, as well as favorable conditions conducive to a social temper of mind.

Our foremost duty is to take a courageous survey of the whole problem, what it is and what it is to be. God has said, Let there be

light. And there is light. He made the war His candlestick. For the first time in history the world is in full view of every man. Mankind is conscious that it is a living soul. It needs courage to take and maintain a whole view of life. It is comfortable, even if it is self-maiming, to live in a corner, especially if it be a congenial corner. But let us face the fact. If we are to play the part of men in a world of men, we must begin with the vast before we can deal successfully with the small. Indeed, there is nothing small if our eyes are trained to see the whole. To the brave, vastness is not a difficulty: rather is it an opportunity. Without vastness there is no inspiration, for vastness is the soul of inspiration. Nor is difficulty a deterrent: it is a stimulus. Without difficulty there is no adventure, for difficulty is the soul of adventure. And without adventure God becomes a stagnant pool and man a statue of clay.

You may as well accept it first as last, however big and seemingly beyond control mankind is, it is the concern of every individual. If democracy means anything, it means just that. The fierce glare of war has lighted up the entire landscape, and we see and are seen as never before. Of course, this theory that the whole of mankind is the business of each of us is not new as a theory. But until now its chief devotees were those curious persons called missionaries, who overleaped the confining boundaries of nations and tongues, and behaved as though mankind were a family. But they were not in high favor. They were supported by a few, tolerated by some, despised by many, and ignored by the rest.

Now the world has come to a rude awakening. The missionary principle is proclaimed from high places as being the only principle that men can live by. Never again can America revert to her petty nationalism. It is not a matter of choice but of sheer necessity. The sun is shining high in God's heaven and nothing can cloud it. The light is revealing to us the whole world as ours, and we can live in nothing smaller. Yes, as an American I dare to say it. The political affairs and well-being of the distant parts of the earth are our concern just as are the industrial, the moral, and the religious. It is only by sketching things large, by laying the national on the background not of the international but of mankind as the supreme human unit, that our nation can live a full-sized life.

And when I say "mankind," I mean something more than the fragment of the human race now tenants of the earth. I mean entire humanity, whose unseen section is beyond the reach of numerical calculation. We are part of them. But they are the garment of which we are the fringe. They have swept through the fields of time and garnered their sheaf for

the storehouse of human treasure in the City of God. They have carried in, rather than with them, their contribution to the Kingdom of God. As the national is to the international, so is the generation of men on earth to the multitude which no man could number in that final order which has reached a stage of perfection that defies disturbance. Our goal is not an earthly one but the Kingdom of Heaven itself. The prayer, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," takes on a new significance when viewed in this setting. The order and peace of the minority, of the fragment, must conform to the pattern of the majority, of the whole.

Nations have touched and mingled and interlocked on land and sea as never before. We find the earliest symptoms of order in the heart of our confusion. I cannot refrain from quoting a letter I received from Admiral Beatty, commander-in-chief of the Grand Fleet, shortly after the surrender of the German Fleet:

"I regret greatly the departure from my command of that fine squadron of vessels of the United States Navy who shared with us the triumph of a great day. They have just left us, and I think, if they have done nothing else, they have cemented a comradeship between our great sea forces which has generated a spirit which should stand against any strain that might be put upon it in the future.

"I would that all the world could realize how deep and steadfast that spirit really is and the thorny path which lies ahead would be made clean and straight."

The British *liaison* officer on our flagship told me that he had "never settled any difficulty between the two navies because there had never been any to settle." Such a unity was not made to be broken.

Again, consider France. For four and a half years millions of foreigners have lived as her tenants on her soil. They were fighting for and with her against a common foe. Their forbearance with strangers has been phenomenal. If we have discovered some of the faults of France by rubbing elbows with her, she, too, has discovered some of ours. But there has been a substantial unity rising out of it all. When we get home and recover perspective, the irritating trifles will fade away and we shall remember chiefly the quiet fortitude, the fine courtesy, and the refined sentiment, of the French people. We hope that they too will remember our best characteristics. Just now we are like guests who have out-stayed their welcome. Even our best friend will become a bore if he forever camps on our doorstep. The best thing that can happen to France is for all foreigners to speed away from her shores as rapidly as may be and leave her people to gather in the privacy of the home

circle to recover that domesticity without which a nation cannot live.

It has been my privilege to preside over religious affairs in the A. E. F. We have had experimental proof that the unity of Christendom is not a baseless dream. The fellowship of our thirteen hundred chaplains of every phase of religious conviction is a living fact. There has been no lowering of fundamental loyalties. But there has been an interpreting of the lesser in terms of the greater, the Church in terms of the Kingdom of God. There has been among them neither competition and rivalry nor self-advertisement. The mutual helpfulness that has obtained has left behind it a line of light. It must be perpetuated into civil life and made coterminous with Christendom. Then Christianity will become Christianity.

There are indications that order is beginning, that even in the confusion of war the key was being fitted to the lock so that there might be a door opened into the new creation. The past, too, with its victories won is still our friend. We may not return to it, but it will not fail to pour its permanent wealth into the lap of the future.

Since last Sunday there has gone from the world a great man, Theodore Roosevelt.* He had the creative spirit and developed the creative habit. Upon foundations he built, our nation is rearing its walls. His contribution was not a passing phase: it was a permanent possession, for true service never dies. He was full of the spirit of adventure, and never hesitated to tackle a big job because of the danger of mistakes or failure. He loved the light and took no pains to conceal his faults. We know him to the bottom of his big nature as we know few public men. He was ever our comrade. He was always headlong—like St. Peter. He sometimes erred—again like St. Peter. He was delightfully human and inspired young men to service more than any President since Lincoln.

He it was who began to wean America from insularity. He had world vision and in his light we walk today. In two great matters in which I had some share, he reached far afield. It was his policy that gave a future to the Philippines. He had put into practice a wise, firm tutorship of a weak people before others even dreamed of it. I can never forget the clean, splendid civil service under his regime in the Philippines. Those were days of ready and loyal-hearted service, such as will always stand out in my memory with brilliancy. Whatever may be built in the future must rest on the fruits of those days.

Again, it was his sense of responsibility to China in her weakness that resulted in the series of Opium Conferences which forever will prevent this debauching for gain of the weak by the strong. The last con-

*Theodore Roosevelt died January 6, 1919.—*Editor's note.*

ference just before the war resulted in a convention which it will be the duty of the Peace Conference in Paris to put into effect.

These things were among the achievements of Theodore Roosevelt. He was a pillar of the house always. And now he whom some of us knew as a friend as well as leader has gone—not from us, but deeper into our nation's life. We think of him in the ordered life beyond this. There once more he has clasped the hand of his courageous son, Quentin. There we can think of him as already busy with the work for the imperishable Kingdom to which God has assigned him. The life beyond this needs our help. God has told us in unmistakable terms that He cannot get on without us. We need heaven, but heaven also needs us. When I say "us," I speak neither of a mob nor of a mere group. I mean each individual. Though most of us cannot play as conspicuous a part as Theodore Roosevelt, we have our own special creative task mapped-out on the background of God's big scheme. We must up and at it. God cannot dispense with any of us.

We who have been privileged to be at close quarters with the larger side of things must soon move back into smaller affairs. It will be difficult. But remember that he who thinks only of big things is visionary. A vision without practical contents and detailed substance is a hollow vessel, a bubble that a pin-prick can destroy. You have seen the large: you have had light and viewed a whole world. Now plunge into the small and your pool will become an ocean and carry in its bosom the very heavens above, with the sun by day and the moon and stars by night finding room there for their habitation. If you return home despising little things, you will run the risk of being a meddler and a disturber of peace. The God who created the earth and the sun also framed the blade of grass and painted the lips of the rose. Go then to your small creation and make it large. Cincinnatus would have been forgotten and unimportant if he had not returned from the shock of battle to drive the plough. If we would be great, we must submit to the test of greatness. It consists in doing small things greatly.

SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH, ROCK CREEK PARISH WASHINGTON, D. C.

I. HISTORICAL SKETCH

By Ethel D. Gutridge



TWO hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary is a noteworthy event—unique in the national capital. When that anniversary commemorates the founding of a church, which, despite periods of great adversity, somehow continued throughout its entire existence, faithfully to perform the duties with which it was charged, the occasion becomes one of real spiritual inspiration and significance. This church was established in territory which now comprises the capital of the world's most powerful and progressive nation, and the fact that it is generally accepted as having pioneered in both the religious and educational life of our national capital seems sufficient justification for an examination of the foundations upon which such an enduring institution was built.

THE COLONIAL FOUNDATION

For a better understanding of the circumstances leading up to the founding of St. Paul's Church in Rock Creek Parish, the oldest and the only colonial church within the present confines of the District of Columbia, it is necessary to recall that this territory was then included in Prince George's County in the Province of Maryland. After the Maryland Revolution of 1689 against the proprietary government, the Assembly, on June 2, 1692, passed an act providing that the ten counties which then comprised the province should be divided into thirty parishes "to be laid out by meets and bounds" by the justices and freeholders. The act also levied an annual tax of forty pole or forty pounds of tobacco upon each taxable person to build churches and support the clergy. While this tax was levied upon every taxpayer, regardless of religious affiliation, the right of franchise granted in the act applied to "the several freeholders" and not merely to members of the Church of England.

One of the parishes so created was known as Piscataway Parish, from the name of the tribe of Indians living in the vicinity, and the parish church was given the name of St. John's, commonly called Broad Creek Church then, as it is today. Originally located in the northern part of Charles County, it fell within the boundaries of Prince

George's County when the latter was created in 1695. Piscataway Parish, the present King George's Parish, was of vast extent, including all the territory lying between the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers, reaching as far north as the Pennsylvania border and westward indefinitely.

It is known that, as early as 1712 and perhaps even earlier, services were being held in the neighborhood of what is now Rock Creek Church, for in the minutes of Piscataway Parish, dated April 21, 1712, we find the rector, the Rev. John Fraser,¹ ordered to preach at the "Eastern Branch Church" once a month upon Sundays.

What was meant by the Eastern Branch Church is not quite clear. Whether there existed some kind of crude unorganized chapel, whether services were held in private homes, or out of doors under the trees is not known. It is evident, however, that between 1712 and 1719 Rev. Mr. Fraser preached in this vicinity once a month, and that the work grew and prospered, for at the request of the inhabitants of the Eastern Branch and Rock Creek Hundreds, Mr. Fraser, on September 18, 1719, called a meeting of all those interested to select a site for building a chapel-of-ease and to devise ways and means for raising the necessary funds. The minutes of this meeting show that twenty-six persons were present and made contributions to the fund. Sixteen additional persons subscribed later, making a total of forty-two persons who contributed a total of £45 in money and 4,350 pounds of tobacco.

At this same parish meeting, a member of the vestry, one John Bradford, later referred to as Colonel Bradford, besides contributing 1,000 pounds of tobacco, also donated, to quote his own entry on the subscription paper, "one hundred Acres of Land whereon is Timber for building said Chappell and necessary houses for a Gleab for the use of the present and future Minister for which Intent the Said hundred Acres of Land is given forever." They were part of a tract located in Rock Creek Hundred, lying along Piney Branch, appropriately and prophetically called "Generosity." This land, donated in 1719, soon after George the First ascended the English throne, remains almost intact in the possession of Rock Creek Parish, and constitutes Rock Creek Churchyard and Cemetery, one of the beauty spots of the District of Columbia, with its old-world charm and the parish church, "The Country Church in the City," a simple Georgian edifice of red brick set far back in the midst of age-old trees.

¹JOHN FRASER (*also* Ffraser, Fraiser, Fraizer) was ordained August 29, 1700, and received the king's bounty for Virginia on September 18, 1700. Minister of Overwharton Parish, Stafford County, Virginia, and St. Paul's Parish, Stafford (now King George) County, 1702. Disappears from the Virginia lists in 1704, and appears in Maryland in 1712 as minister of Piscataway Parish. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVI (1947). pp. 331, 331n.]

By a strange oversight, no one concerned seems to have given any thought to the all-important detail of a deed for the land, for in the minutes of January 3, 1727, we find the vestry meeting with Mr. John Bradford, son of Colonel Bradford, who had died, to discuss with him the matter of making over the land on which the parish church stood. Accordingly, on August 13, 1730, John Bradford gave bond to the gentlemen of the vestry for making over the church land, his mother, Joyce, and his wife, Anna, fully relinquishing their dower rights. The actual deed is dated August 27, 1730, and is recorded in the land records of Prince George's County, Maryland.

Not far from the principal entrance gate stands a beautiful Celtic cross, erected about fifty years ago by the vestry of Rock Creek Parish in memory of "John Bradford, our Great Benefactor." This cross, made of stone from the famous Kilkenny quarries in Ireland, is reputed to be a replica of one found on the island of Iona, a memorial to St. Columba, sixth century missionary to Scotland.

The site of the chapel-of-ease, authorized in 1719 and built of timber growing on the tract donated by John Bradford, was undoubtedly determined by the magnificent white oak, known as the "Glebe Oak," a survivor of the original forest, and standing to the right as one enters the present church. Should mishap befall the great oak it is comforting to know that its perpetuation seems assured, for after numerous unsuccessful attempts, several hardy young descendants have been grown from its acorns.

Suspended from a limb of the Glebe Oak is a bell which attracts much attention and about which several romantic legends are told. However, as a matter of fact, this is not the bell used on the original chapel to call the worshippers together or to warn them of the approach of hostile Indians, but was purchased in 1882 by Mr. John Wiltberger, a vestryman, and is believed to be a bell salvaged from a locomotive that had run off the old Long Bridge over the Potomac some time during the Civil War.

According to Dr. Ethan Allen, early historian of the diocese of Maryland, the Rev. John Fraser lived on the banks of the Potomac at a place called Blue Plains, and to reach the chapel-of-ease could go up Rock Creek in his boat to a place very near where he held his services, or if he rode on horseback had to travel some twelve miles through the wildwood, crossing the Eastern Branch ferry in his way. As his far-flung parish extended to the Pennsylvania border, and as horseback seems to have been his principal means of transportation, Mr. Fraser's visit to his chapel-of-ease at Rock Creek, arduous as they may seem to us, were probably among the least formidable of his duties.

It may be in order to mention in passing that he was deemed worthy of burial beneath the altar of his parish church at St. John's on Broad Creek.

The chapel flourished, and in 1724 the Rev. Mr. Fraser, in reporting its condition to the bishop of London, who had nominal spiritual jurisdiction over the clergy in the colonies, stated that from fifty to seventy persons communed each month at Rock Creek Chapel. By the year 1726, the chapel had grown to such an extent that the parishioners petitioned the Provincial Assembly for permission to erect a new parish to be known as Prince George's Parish, which would include the three Hundreds of Rock Creek, Eastern Branch and Potomac. According to this petition, this territory contained 545 taxables, which would indicate a population of about 2,000, excluding Indians. The territory assigned to this new parish included what now constitutes a large portion of the District of Columbia, part of Prince George's County, and all of Montgomery, Frederick, Washington, Allegheny and Garrett Counties. To realize that in all this vast area, estimated at between eighty and ninety miles in length and about twenty in breadth, there stood but one little church of our faith, one is forced to conclude that for many people the privilege of attending church must have been a rare experience.

At this time, the induction of the clergy was the prerogative of the lord proprietary of the province, acting upon the recommendation of the bishop of London. In the appointment of the Rev. George Murdoch² as its first rector, the new parish had an auspicious beginning, for from all accounts Mr. Murdoch's character, education and piety made him one of the leading men of the province. He resided at first about three-quarters of a mile from Chevy Chase Lake, but as a rectory was soon built for him upon the glebe, he became the first clergyman to reside within the present limits of the District of Columbia.

It may be interesting to know the names of the first vestry elected by the freeholders' meeting at Rock Creek Church on December 3, 1726. Wardens: Caleb Lutton, William Harbin. Vestrymen (six in number as then established by law): Nathaniel Wickham, John Powell, James Holmead, John Flint, Joseph Chew, John Pritchett. On the same day, the newly-constituted vestry elected William Jackson their first register, and voted him at the next meeting of December 16, 1726, an annual salary of 800 pounds of tobacco.

²GEORGE MURDOCH [also William Murdock, Murdaugh] (1676-Feb. 17, 1761) lived in Virginia for many years as a "poor taylor" before ordination. Went to England and was ordained by the bishop of London, September 29, 1724. From February 1725 until the early part of 1727, he was minister of St. James' Parish, Goochland County, Virginia. Moved to Maryland as rector of Prince George's Parish, 1727-1761. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XVII (1948), pp. 215, 240]

The new rector and vestry immediately set about the work of preparing the new parish to function—ordering a vestry house built, purchasing a large folio church Bible, two large folio copies of the Book of Common Prayer, a record book, and “a Dyaper Cloth and two Napkins for the Communion Table.” This first Bible remained in constant use for about a hundred and fifty years, and then was preserved as a precious relic in a glass case placed in the nave of the church. Nothing is known of the original communion service, although it is said that a glass one was used. In this connection, it may be of interest to know that according to a member of the Buck family, money to purchase a silver-plated communion service and alms plates was given in 1848 by Daniel Webster, through his friend, Mr. John Agg, long a vestryman of Rock Creek. Nothing is known, either, about the final disposition of this Webster service.

It was Mr. Murdoch who, early in his incumbency, began the missionary work which has always characterized the parish, by preaching every third Sunday to those of his parishioners referred to in the vestry minutes of April 3, 1727, as “the upper inhabitants of the parish.” The work thus begun resulted in the creation of an independent parish in 1742 under the name of All Saints in Frederick, Maryland, which by the time of the American Revolution had become the largest and wealthiest parish in the province.

Mr. Murdoch's missionary zeal and that of his successor, Mr. Williamson, resulted in the establishment of missions or chapels-of-ease, which were the forerunners of the present independent parishes of Christ Church in Rockville, then called “Rock Creek Chapel”; of St. Mark's Memorial Chapel in Zion Parish, Fairland, then called “Paint Chapel”; and of St. Bartholomew's Parish, Laytonsville, all located in Montgomery County, Maryland.

One of the duties, and surely a most unpleasant one, which colonial law imposed upon the vestry of that day, was the matter of censorship and regulation of the morals of the community. The earliest record book (now carefully preserved in Rock Creek's office safe) contains numerous references to the summoning of accused persons to answer charges of various kinds. The verdict in the majority of cases was happily one of acquittal. In one instance, however, the accused, evidently somewhat of an individualist, refused to appear in person, stating in a letter that the accusation was due to the rector's (Mr. Murdoch's) “malice and Vexatious temper, in the intervalles of his want of ye right use of his senses.”

Mr. Murdoch remained rector of the parish for more than thirty-

four years, or until his death on February 17, 1761, "being very Ancient."

He was succeeded by the Rev. Alexander Williamson,³ who came to Rock Creek from St. Anne's in Annapolis, and whose incumbency has been called the Golden Age of the parish. At this time the parish owned its own tobacco warehouse in Georgetown, and Mr. Williamson's report for the year 1767 showed an income of £363 3s 4d.

Mr. Williamson, evidently a man of vision, was concerned in the lack of educational opportunity afforded the youth of his parish, and it was due to his efforts that a public school was established within the limits of the parish, which school is claimed to have been the beginning of the public school system of the District of Columbia. The land on which the school stood was donated by Mr. John Clagett, a vestryman, by an indenture made October 11, 1764, "out of sentiments of tenderness and regard for the rising generation." This is doubtless the same John Clagett who in 1751 was authorized by the Maryland legislature as one of the commissioners, the majority of whom were members of Rock Creek, to lay out the town of Georgetown.

An examination of the old records of this period reveals three lists of the names of bachelors over twenty-five years of age, with the estimated value of their estates, upon whom the Assembly had levied a tax for the prosecution of the French and Indian War. The list dated July 8, 1760, contains nineteen names, that of July 14, 1761, twenty-five names, and that of July 13, 1762, twenty-six names, headed by that of the new rector, Mr. Alexander Williamson. These figures would seem to indicate that the young men of the parish preferred taxation to matrimony.

In 1771, Mr. Williamson requested authority from the Provincial Assembly to build a new church of brick construction, to replace the original frame chapel which had been in use for over fifty years, and for which purpose the Assembly placed a levy of 96,000 pounds of tobacco upon the inhabitants of the parish. To quote Dr. Ethan Allen again: "The work of building went on rather slowly and when the Revolution came on the brick walls only were up and covered in and so remained for many years." In fact, it is stated that the church was

³ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON, II (died c. 1787) is not to be confused with his father of the same name, who was rector of St. Paul's, Kent County, Maryland, 1711-1725.

Alexander, II, is listed as a native of All Saints', Calvert County, Maryland. He was ordained in 1755, and licensed for Maryland by the bishop of London on December 27th of that year. Curate of St. Andrew's, St. Mary's County, 1755-59; St. Anne's, Annapolis, 1759-61; rector, Prince George's Parish, Montgomery County, 1761-76. Refused the required oaths of allegiance to the State of Maryland, and retired to his farm near the present Georgetown, Washington, D. C. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XIII (1944), p. 143; *ibid.*, XVII (1948), pp. 218, 249.]

roofless for forty years. This state of affairs, if true, was due in part to the withdrawal of all means of support from the churches when the colonies declared themselves independent. Those eighteen inch walls, erected in 1775 of brick, traditionally brought from England and laid in the Flemish bond with marble dust and oyster shells, are still standing in the present church, having withstood fire, storm and the ravages of time.

AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

With the outbreak of the Revolution, Mr. Williamson became a non-juror, believing that his oath of allegiance to King George prevented him from swearing fidelity to the American government. He was, therefore, Georgetown, his curate, Mr. Thomas Read,⁴ succeeding him as rector.

Mr. Read was one of the most prominent clergymen in the diocese of Maryland, acting as president of the convention on one occasion during the absence of Bishop Claggett. However, Rock Creek owes little to him, for as he preferred the chapel at Rockville, he took up residence in that place and so neglected the parish church that the parishioners appealed to Bishop Claggett for redress. However, one important event occurred during Mr. Read's incumbency—the first confirmation ever held in Rock Creek Church, when on March 27, 1793, Bishop Thomas John Claggett, the first Episcopal bishop to be consecrated on American soil, confirmed nineteen persons.

Mr. Read was followed by several rectors whose incumbencies were brief and uneventful and of uncertain tenure,⁵ and who also favored the chapel at Rockville at the expense of the mother church. During this period the church fell into such a state of neglect and disrepair that it continued to exist only through the efforts of the Rev. Walter Dulany Addison, rector of St. John's in Georgetown, who took the church under his charge without compensation, even after becoming blind. In 1809 or 1810, when he had occasion to preach a funeral sermon at Rock Creek, the church was in such a state of dilapidation that he had to hold the service under the trees in the yard. The building had never had a floor, and Mr. Read had complained that the dust from the dirt floor was very annoying to the eyes.

Mr. Addison succeeded in raising several hundreds of dollars towards the cost of the repairs, which included the laying of the first floor.

⁴THOMAS READ (*also* Reid) was licensed by the bishop of London for Maryland on September 21, 1773. [HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, XIII (1944), p. 140.]

⁵See the list, with dates of each rectorship, at the end of this essay.

Additional money was needed, however, and in its extremity the vestry actually authorized the sale of the glebe which they considered unprofitable, and went so far as to petition Congress for an enabling act. It was at this juncture that one of our famous national figures intervened in behalf of our historic church, when Mr. Francis Scott Key, author of our national anthem, at that time a member of St. John's in Georgetown, induced the vestry to abandon their intention of selling the glebe and to raise the money by other means.

The calling of the Rev. Christian Wiltberger in 1831 was a fortunate one, for he instilled new life into the failing church, which at that time had but six confirmed communicants. As the vestry was unable to afford him an amount of compensation adequate to the support of his family, he was given the privilege of conducting a school in the vestry room, the proceeds from which were to go towards augmenting his meager salary of \$180 a year, plus ten cords of "oak wood standing," plus the use of the glebe land which was considered to be worth \$50.

One curious stipulation in Mr. Wiltberger's call, to which, however, he does not seem to have acceded, was that the vestry reserve to itself the privilege of inviting ministers or preachers of other denominations to occupy the pulpit on Sunday afternoons.

It was during Mr. Wiltberger's incumbency that revenue was first raised by the sale of burial sites, which may be considered as the real beginning of Rock Creek Cemetery, although from the time the church was first built the ground in its immediate vicinity had been used for burials without charge.

Although when Mr. Wiltberger retired in 1836 he left a stronger and more vital church than he had found, with one hundred and one communicants on the rolls, the period which followed was one of rapid deterioration. However, with the appointment of Dr. James Albert Buck, who came from St. Andrew's Parish, in Leonardtown, Maryland, in December, 1852, the parish began its present era of prosperity and importance in the diocese.

THE RECTORSHIP OF DR. JAMES ALBERT BUCK, 1852-1897

His incumbency of forty-five years was the longest in the history of the parish, and deserves to be mentioned in some detail. He found the glebe run-down and neglected, overgrown with weeds and brambles, the church extremely plain and primitive and infested with squirrels.

The rectory, which had been built only twelve years before, to replace the original one which had been in use for over a hundred

years, was hardly fit for human habitation. Corn stubble ran up to its very door. As a matter of fact, the whole place presented such a forlorn appearance that one member of the family burst into tears when she saw where she had to live. About an acre of ground around the church was fenced in for burials, and the public road ran through the glebe less than a hundred yards from the church.

In 1868, it was discovered that the north wall of the church was so badly sprung that it was torn down and the church completely remodeled, with money obtained in part from a legacy from Mr. John Agg, who had left the church half his fortune, and partly by a memorable series of strawberry festivals which were patronized by the elite of Washington and Georgetown society, the strawberries being raised in Dr. Buck's own garden.

Until this time, the church was plain rectangular in shape, with two large doors on the west side. A gallery used by the choir, with a portion set aside for colored servants, ran across the west end, its floor covered with straw in winter to keep one's feet warm. The chancel, enclosed with a low wooden rail, was in the east, with a high round wooden pulpit placed in its center. The woodwork was extremely cheap and the windows were of clear glass. A tall stove stood half way up the aisle.

The present recessed chancel, organ and vestry rooms were erected on the north at the time of this remodeling. The gallery was removed and the present arrangement of windows and pews adopted. According to a descendant of Dr. Buck, a number of prominent people contributed towards the cost, among whom were included the British Minister, Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and Governor Alexander Shepherd, who gave the chandeliers for the center aisle. Former President James Buchanan, who had attended services at Rock Creek while occupying his summer residence in the Soldiers' Home Grounds, sent a contribution enclosed in a letter, in which he recalled "the kindness of the cultivated and agreeable people who worshipped there."

At about this time, the churchyard was enlarged and improved, and the public road moved to the southern boundary of the glebe property (now Rock Creek Church Road). These road improvements were of immeasurable benefit, for up to this time the condition of the roads had frequently necessitated the closing of the Church school for the entire period between Christmas and Easter.

As the neighborhood lacked a public school in 1866, Dr. Buck met this need by establishing a parish school, the last to be operated on the glebe, the teacher making her home at the rectory.

As might be expected of a man of his character, Dr. Buck was extremely missionary-minded and he established missions which now constitute the well-known parishes of St. Stephen and the Incarnation, of St. Margaret's and of Our Saviour. A fourth mission later became the Advent Parish, but owing to a changed neighborhood, has since become extinct.

It was during Dr. Buck's rectorship that two progressive steps were taken which have been largely responsible for the present sound and prosperous condition of the parish—an endowment fund was established, and the operation of a public cemetery was authorized by Congress, the charter being conferred upon the vestry on June 30, 1871.

It was soon after Dr. Buck came to Rock Creek that the parish definitely took its present name of Rock Creek Parish, leaving the old name of Prince George's Parish to the church at Rockville. In 1856, the diocesan convention definitely established the boundaries of Rock Creek Parish, which since 1820 had really had the status of a separate congregation. The diocesan convention of 1830 had established the church at Rockville as the parish church of Prince George's Parish.

In 1895, the diocese of Washington was organized, and Rock Creek Parish became a part of the new diocese.

Dr. Buck was a great individualist and a wealth of characteristic anecdotes is associated with his name. His death on September 4, 1897, was deeply regretted by the entire community and received wide publicity.

RECTORSHIPS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

He was succeeded in March, 1898, by the Rev. Charles E. Buck, who, although of the same name, was in no way related.

The present large frame rectory was built at the beginning of Mr. Buck's incumbency. The twenty years of Mr. Buck's rectorship were years of steady growth, marked by the same missionary spirit which had distinguished his predecessor, and which culminated in the establishment of two additional missions, the forerunners of the present Holy Comforter Church-St. Andrew's Parish, and of the parish of the Transfiguration.

The tower, which is so distinctive a feature of the present church, was added during Mr. Buck's tenure, which lasted until his death in 1918.

The Rev. Joseph Fletcher, who succeeded Mr. Buck in February, 1919, was greatly beloved by his people, to whom he was known affectionately as "Daddy Fletcher." It was his misfortune to be rector at

the time a great tragedy befell the parish, when, on April 6, 1921, a fire of unknown origin broke out during the night and completely destroyed the interior of the historic church, with its beautiful stained glass windows and priceless relics, one of which was the original Bible. Only the pre-Revolutionary walls remained intact. The work of reconstruction in which the substantial old walls were retained was begun immediately, and the church as it appears today dates from that rebuilding. Mr. Fletcher retired as rector emeritus in 1926 to become canon and librarian of the National Cathedral until his death in 1936.

The two chancel windows which trace the history of the Holy Eucharist from the opening pages of the Bible to the first Communion service conducted by the Rev. Robert Hunt at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, were dedicated as a memorial to Mr. Fletcher.

The incumbency of the Rev. Franklin Johns Bohanan, D. D., which began on September 1, 1926, was distinguished by a marked increase in the number of communicants and in the membership of the Church school, as well as by the formation of a number of new organizations. It was also an era of building. A new parish house was erected, a service building, a gate house and new gates at the Allison Street entrance, and a small robing-room added to the church. The grounds were greatly improved by the building of a new stone wall, new fences and new roads. The parish house, dedicated and opened with appropriate exercises on November 30, 1928, is generally considered to be the most beautiful and completely equipped building of its kind in the entire diocese—of colonial design with colonnade portico, spacious auditorium and stage, numerous classrooms and modern kitchen.

On the lawn in front of the parish house stands a 65-foot flag pole, erected in 1940 by the Daughters of the American Colonists, District of Columbia Society.

An interesting and unusual ceremony took place on January 5, 1928, with the dedication of a bronze tablet containing the names of the former rectors of the parish, which was placed on the east wall of the church. Invitations were extended to all their known living descendants.

Dr. Bohanan was deeply interested in the historic character of the church and glebe and in the numerous sculptural masterpieces with which the cemetery abounds, and many remember with pleasure the tours which were a feature of his incumbency.

Ill health necessitated Dr. Bohanan's retirement on September 1, 1942, when he was named rector emeritus. He is at present an honorary canon of the Cathedral and president of the standing committee of the diocese. He was succeeded by the present rector, the Rev. Charles W. Wood, who had been assistant in the parish for a little over three years.

Mr. Wood's institution took place in November, 1942, at which time the late Rt. Rev. James E. Freeman, D. D., conducted the service, among his last public services as bishop of Washington. The Rev. Leicester C. Lewis, Ph. D., S. T. D., rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, preached the sermon.

Our parish was also honored that year by having the Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, D. D., hold his first Sunday confirmation service as bishop of Washington. Rock Creek Parish was the host to the first diocesan convention over which he presided.

Rock Creek Cemetery is proud of its claim as the final resting-place of Abraham Baldwin, the only signer of the constitution of the United States known to be buried in the District of Columbia, and his grave was marked with patriotic exercises by the Daughters of the American Revolution on Constitution Day in 1943, with the Rev. Mr. Wood giving the invocation.

A solemn service of Holy Communion, with the rector as celebrant, was held on the evening of Invasion Day, June 6, 1944, participated in by numerous relatives and friends of the scores of young men and women of this parish, who were wearing their country's uniform. A similar service was held on the evening following the news of victory in the European theatre of war.

Although of so brief a tenure, Mr. Wood's rectorship has already been marked by a notable event—the installation and dedication of the first three of a series of ten stained glass windows in the nave of the church, which portray the history of the Episcopal Church in America. As far as can be ascertained, this is the only church in the United States where such a theme is carried out in stained glass. The dedication of the fourth and fifth windows of the series was one of the highlights of the two hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary. One of them was dedicated to our young men and women in the service.

This project was conceived solely by the rector, who also suggested the subject for each window, and they will stand as a monument to his imaginative vision as long as the old church endures.

This story would not be complete without paying grateful tribute to those generations of earnest and loyal men who, without compensation, have served well and faithfully on the vestries of this old parish. In all these two hundred and twenty-five years but one woman has sat upon the vestry, and that in recent years.

To look back upon what this old church has done for the extension of God's Kingdom on earth is to deem it a worthy inheritor of the name of its great prototype, St. Paul. And to recall the sacrifice and devotion of those God-fearing men and women of long ago who

braved hardship and even danger to worship God in His own House is to feel a sense of humility and gratitude. Let us, therefore, strive to emulate their example, and as we leave the old House of Prayer raise our eyes to the Tower Window and heed its message to "Go Ye into all the World."

MY CHURCH

It nestles deep midst sheltering trees,
Tried sentinels through centuries.
And high among their utmost peak
The Cross, the hope of those who seek
A token of release and rest,
A solace for the soul distressed,
Too oft unseen in passing by
Gleams gold against the arching sky.

Its ancient walls the stress have borne
Of storm and fire and years war-torn.
Above life's din it calls to save
Those lost and weary souls who crave
The peace it offers to impart
So freely to each troubled heart,
Bewildered in a world of sin
Without that blessed hope within.

Oft times the load of fear and care
Seems heavier than I can bear
Then, kneeling at its altar rail,
I seek the strength that cannot fail,
Partake the Bread and Wine of life,
Find courage to endure the strife.
Thus doubts and fears and sorrows flee,
My Church does this, and more, for me.

—Ethel D. Gutridge.

RECTORS OF ROCK CREEK PARISH

REV. JOHN FRASER	1712-1726	REV. BENJAMIN M. MILLER	1837-1839
REV. GEORGE MURDOCH	1727-1761	REV. K. JOHNS STEWART	1839-1841
REV. ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON	1762-1776	REV. WILLIAM A. HARRIS	1841-1849
REV. THOMAS READ	1777-1813	REV. HENRY W. WOODS	1849-1851
REV. ALFRED HENRY DASHIELL	1814-1817	REV. DAVID KERR	1851-1852
REV. THOMAS G. ALLEN	1820-1828	REV. JAMES A. BUCK, D. D.	1852-1897
REV. HENRY C. KNIGHT	1828-1829	REV. CHARLES E. BUCK	1898-1918
REV. ROBERT ASH	1830-1830	REV. JOSEPH FLETCHER	1919-1926
REV. CHRISTIAN WILTBERGER	1831-1836	REV. F. J. BOHANAN, D. D.	1926-1942
REV. CHARLES W. WOOD			1942-

[For Part II. HISTORICAL PAINTINGS, by Charles W. Wood, see below, pages 167-174.]

BOOK REVIEWS

Drawing-Room Conversion. By Allan W. Eister. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, xiv-236 pp. Price, \$3.50.

The author of this book is a trained sociologist teaching in Texas. He has long been interested in the movement variously called "The Oxford Groups," Buchmanism, First Century Christian Fellowship, and (more recently) Moral Rearmament. In this volume he gives us a sociological study of the movement, with some conclusions as to the cultural situation which—from the sociological point of view—produced the cult, the needs which is sought to meet, and the "obligations and rewards, lures and demands" which it offered.

Throughout the work, we are conscious of the objective and impartial position of the writer. The reviewer, who first met the Groups at Princeton in the mid-twenties, can testify to the accuracy of the reporting of the crisis on the Princeton campus, which resulted in the barring of Dr. Buchman by President John Grier Hibben. This same quality of accurate reporting and objective judgment characterizes the whole work.

For readers of *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, the principal interest of Dr. Eister's book will doubtless be its portrayal of a period in American religious life when for many persons, especially in the educated and wealthier groups, the organized religious bodies seemed to have failed to provide a dynamic and offer a philosophy of life that was acceptable. Into this vacuum the Group Movement made its way and for a time, but only for a time, seemed to provide what was desired. That it failed—and became the somewhat different affair now called Moral Rearmament—is due to the fact, which Dr. Eister does not state but which is implied in his study, that it lacked that firm and balanced institutional and traditional element which gives a religious faith its enduring quality and its flexibility.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

The History of the Chaplain Corps, United States Navy: Volume I, 1778-1939. By Clifford M. Drury, Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., 1949, pp. 273. \$2.25.

This is a fascinating, carefully documented history of the Naval chaplaincy, with an abundance of illustrations. Its author is Church his-

tory professor at the San Francisco (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary in San Anselmo, California. He served in World War II, and for a part of that time he worked on this book. It is being published in three volumes. Volume II was published first, in 1948 (*see HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, September, 1948, p. 306). Volume III, bringing the history up to date, will appear later this year.

Churchmen will be particularly interested in the statistics that 84 out of 477 chaplains who served in the period covered by this volume were Episcopalians. Due to the incompleteness of early records, 60 chaplains are in the "Unknown" category as to religious affiliation. Some of these, too, were probably churchmen. Two denominations, the Methodist and the Episcopal, furnished about two-thirds of all ordained Naval chaplains for the first eighty years of the Navy's history.

The first Episcopalian in the corps was Chaplain Alexander McFarlan, who reported to the *Chesapeake* in February, 1802. The son of Bishop Chase, Philander, Junior, was a Navy chaplain from 1818 to 1820. Many other names come to light in these pages to show the very extensive contribution of the Episcopal Church to the corps.

The former chief of chaplains, Rear Admiral W. N. Thomas, writes in the Introduction, "Nowhere outside of the armed services of the United States is it possible to find so many clergymen of so many different faiths working together in such close harmony for the spiritual welfare of so many." This statement is more than justified in the facts so admirably detailed by Dr. Drury.

KENNETH D. PERKINS.

*District Chaplain's Office,
Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.*

A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, Volume II, The Liberal Awakening, 1815-1830. By Elie Halevy. Translated from the French by E. I. Watkins (New York, Peter Smith, 1949). \$6.00.

The second volume of Elie Halevy's *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century: The Liberal Awakening, 1815-1830*, has fortunately followed with great rapidity the re-publication of the author's *England in 1815*, that amazing and provocative evaluation of English life in the eighteenth century. In this second volume, the reader finds the author with a more manageable topic than in the first of the series. This is not to say, however, that *The Liberal Awakening* is the more valuable of the two works; for in no case can that be considered true. Nevertheless, the second volume of Halevy's monumental study of English society in the nineteenth century does not of necessity suffer from the diversity and breadth of *England in 1815*.

Halevy, as is usual with him, is not circumscribed by the limitations of chronological recitations of the ins and outs of the Tory and Whig parties. For *The Liberal Awakening* is divided into two suggestive parts: "The Years of Lord Castlereagh" (including "Fear of Revolution" and

"The Awakening of Liberalism"): "The Decomposition of the Tory Party" (including "The Hegemony of Canning" and "Catholic Emancipation").

Such is the extent of Halevy's project. Put more simply: the story of this period is the beginning of the acceptance of the problems of the newly developing industrial state. This was being done while England's leaders struggled to keep the flow of agitation for reform and the actual reform of the period from following the "violence" of the continental pattern, which for them meant one thing only, the chaos of the French Revolution. Often has this tale of the reluctant acceptance of the exigency of reform been told, but Halevy makes it more pertinent to the reader's understanding by showing that it was something which permeated every aspect of national life—from the need for Catholic emancipation to the need for a re-statement of the legal position of the joint stock company.

The task of England's leaders was diverse and intricate enough. It was also one which should have awakened militant social upheaval. So it did, but this unrest was kept within the bounds of management. Why it did not grow out of all control by the limited forces behind the Tory government is an enigma of great consequence. It is here that Halevy's vast and comprehensive grasp of English attitudes reaches its greatest summit. For him, the answers are behind the facts: they are that the agitation for reform rarely outlived its economic origins, that the democratic program had not captured popular imagination, and that the radical movement for much of the period dwelt alone behind the sterile walls of London clubs.

If this work has a weak aspect, it is within the pages dealing with George Canning; the veil of ambiguity which far too extensively hangs over the achievements of Canning is not lifted in this volume. It is not sufficient to say, as Halevy does, that a poet, Canning, had followed a man of prose, Castlereagh. Perhaps, though, the fault is inherent in any study of Canning.

A study of this kind involves the presentation of a multifarious assortment of facts and figures, and it is here that the merits of the volume are outstanding. For Halevy, like too few writers, can bring these facts together and present a cohesive picture of a given period. In all major respects, this book as a whole is a worthy contribution to the understanding of early nineteenth century England.

MARY HAMILTON DAVISON.

*University of California,
Los Angeles.*

Forgotten Religions (including some living primitive religions). Edited by Vergilius Ferm, Ph. D., New York. The Philosophical Library, 1950.

"Religion" is a word of varied meanings. For many, in the present age, it suggests a small department of life, a curious idiosyncrasy like

an appreciation of chamber music or an interest in tropical fish. Yet there are others to whom it is everything, the organizing center of coherent thought and the heart-warming devotion which makes life worth living. It is to be remembered that those people whom we call "primitive" recognized no such distinction. All of life was under the control of the unseen powers; what we would call the natural order was but a veil for the supernatural.

Therefore, when we study the customs and practices of ancient people or of our contemporary "primitives" we must be prepared to find all manner of activities through which man sought to avert the hostile elements of the supernatural and to win the approval—or at least the tolerant neutrality—of the unseen.

The present volume makes this principle very clear. The contributors* have studied the social forms of races and peoples, past and present, as thoroughly competent anthropologists. And when, as often, anthropology does not suffice, they have become archaeologists, digging among the debris of long-abandoned homes and villages. The result is a comprehensive survey of many "Forgotten Religions" and of a few which still survive in remote corners of the world.

And even though we use the word "forgotten," we do well to remember that the religions of Egypt, Greece, and the ancient Near East may have died, officially, but nevertheless have left their marks upon the social orders which nourished the Hebrews and the early Christian Church.

Each of the eighteen contributors to this volume is a thoroughly competent student, as is attested by the biographical sketches which precede their essays. There can be no doubt of the professional authority with which they speak. Each essay is well documented and is followed by an excellent bibliography for the guidance of any reader who would pursue the subject further. The reviewer is impressed by the fact that the whole book is distinctly up to date; when he was studying in this field twenty years ago, Dr. S. A. B. Mercer was the only one of the present group of writers whose name was widely known.

As a small expression of regret, we might say that we wish the editor had asked the Rev. Dr. Claude A. Beesley, of Wichita Falls, Texas, for an essay based on his studies of the Mayan religion.

*The religions expounded and the contributors are: "The Dawn of Religions," by Phyllis Ackerman; "The Religion of Ancient Egypt," by Samuel A. B. Mercer; "Sumerian Religion," by Samuel Noah Kramer; "Assyro-Babylonian Religion," by A. Leo Oppenheim; "Hittite Religion," by Hans Gustav Güterbock; "The Religion of the Canaanites," by Theodor H. Gaster; "Religion in Prehistoric Greece," and "Mystery Religions of Greece," by George Emmanuel Mylonas; "Mithraism, Manichaeism, and Mazdakism," by Irach J. S. Taraporewala; "Old Norse Religion," by Murray Fowler; "Tibetan Religion," by Li An-che; "The Religion of the Australian Aborigines," by A. P. Elkin; "South American Indian Religions," by Julian H. Steward; "Shamanism," by Mircea Eliade; "The Religion of the Eskimos," by Margaret Lantis; "The Religion of the Navaho Indians," by Leland Clifton Wyman; "The Religion of the Hopi Indians," by Mischa Titiev.

Dr. Ferm has done an excellent piece of editorial work, and the writers have presented their subjects in clear, interesting, and understandable language.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*

The Living Church Annual: The Yearbook of the Episcopal Church, 1950. Edited by Linden H. Morehouse and Alice Parmelee. New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1949. Pp. 568.

The editor, in his valuable "Review of the Year," writes of the enthusiasm created by the visit of the English, Scottish and American bishops. Such visits from both sides of the Atlantic are extremely helpful. He tells also of the powerful witness of Christian nurses caring for Communist soldiers at St. James' Hospital, Anking, China. "One of them stopped Miss Myers one day in the ward, put his hand on her shoulder and said, 'We just don't know why your people are so kind to us.' The witness of Christian love in this hospital has eased the way for all our work in the city of Anking." It is good to learn that in the diocese of South Carolina Negro congregations will have equal representation in the annual convention with the white congregations. The General Convention of 1949 urged bishops and other clergy "in this 400th anniversary of the Prayer Book . . . to make loyal use of the Prayer Book, changes in which can be made only by General Convention under the canons." We in the Church of England might learn much from a resolution of such very great importance.

In his "Analysis of Statistics," the editor is able to record "a steady forward trend as seen by an increase in the number of adult baptisms, of confirmations, and of ordinations. "The Church in its everyday living is growing." "The number of Church members (baptized persons) for the first time has gone over the two and one-half million mark."

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

A Hundred Years in Chelsea: The Church of the Holy Apostles, 1844-1944. By Rev. Lucius A. Edelblute. Published by the Author, New York, 1949. Pp. 280. \$3.75.

The vaguely defined section of New York City known as Chelsea is of interest to Church people as the location of the General Theological Seminary, and has a certain sentimental appeal to most Americans as

the home of Clement Clarke Moore, who made Santa Claus popular. Though never so fashionable as Greenwich Village, it flourished for a time, in the early nineteenth century, as the site of country residences of well-to-do New Yorkers. As the city encompassed it, it declined to an upper-middle-class, then to a lower-middle-class, and finally to a lower-class neighborhood. It never quite became a slum, as did the area to the north, which acquired an unsavory reputation as "Hell's Kitchen," but it did not escape slumhood by very much. Since the nineteen twenties, it has begun to improve, through the building of new apartment houses.

Three Episcopal parishes have survived the vicissitudes of Chelsea for a century or more: St. Peter's, the Holy Communion, and the Holy Apostles. The present work gives the history of the last-named. It is a narrative which reflects the difficulties of the environment—a record of spiritual achievement in the face of constant material difficulties, frequent conflicts, and a shifting population. Mr. Edelblute tells the story fully and interestingly. His work is a valuable addition to any shelf of parish histories, or to any collection dealing with the history of New York City.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,
Church Historical Society,
Philadelphia.*

English Prayer Books: An Introduction to the Literature of Christian Worship. By Stanley Morison. Cambridge University Press, 1949. Pp. x, 239. \$3.50.

The Booke of Common Prayer of the Churche of England: Its Making and Revisions, MDXLIX-MDCLXI. By Edward C. Ratcliff, Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, London, 1949. Pp. 110. 80 plates. 10s.

Both of these books combine reproductions of specimen pages from early English liturgies with a historical text. The plates in the S. P. C. K. volume are larger and better than those in the Cambridge book, but the text is much shorter, being confined to a brief but excellent introduction and bibliographical notes on the various editions illustrated. Though convenient for reference, its greatest value is as a supplement to a collection of Prayer Books, enabling the student to form an idea of the actual appearance of early editions which are represented in most American libraries only by reprints.

Mr. Morison's work, already in its third edition, gives a full and informative history of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, together with a sufficient outline of early and medieval liturgies to provide an understanding of the material with which the English reformers were working. It is of great value as a textbook and work of

reference, and of interest to any reader who cares to know about the development of the Anglican liturgy.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,
Church Historical Society,
Philadelphia.*

Intinction and the Administration of the Chalice. By T. Grigg-Smith, Portsmouth, England: Grosvenor Press. 24 pages. 4 shillings.

We in America are accustomed to find that those who advocate the practice of intinction tend, on the whole, not to be in the "Catholic" tradition; this volume, by an Englishman who is a canon of Portsmouth Cathedral, is by a Catholic-minded churchman who feels that, since many are troubled by hygienic fears, some provision should be made for them. His suggestion is that the Holy Communion be administered by dipping the consecrated wafer in the chalice and placing the wafer, when dipped, upon the tongue of the communicant. Other methods he feels to be irreverent or unsatisfactory. Canon Grigg-Smith is certainly wrong in saying that if some such method is employed, the celebrant should also communicate in this fashion; it would appear that at least minimal obedience to the dominical usage would demand that the celebrant communicate in the normal way. As to the rest of his argument, our attitude will probably depend upon the view which we take, first, of the necessity for following the ancient usage; second, of the facts concerning hygiene, often exaggerated (as it seems to the reviewer) by defenders of intinction; and, third, of our feeling concerning the Roman method of communion in one kind when there is a genuine fear of infection. The reviewer can see no really adequate ground for departing from the traditional Anglican usage,—administration in both kinds, with the common chalice.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

The Tree of Life. By David K. Montgomery. New York: Morehouse-Gorham. xi-172 pages. Price, \$3.00.

The dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in Springfield, Illinois, has used some verses by Gabriel Gillett as a frame for a helpful and perceptive series of devotional meditations on the Church and its sacramental life. Originally planned for Good Friday addresses, the chapters have been expanded and their number increased in order to provide a rounded sur-

vey of the life in grace, grounded on faith in Christ and nourished by a regular and devout participation in the sacraments. Apt illustrations, telling quotations from many different sources, and a ready application of truth to the concrete situations in which Christian folk find themselves, show the wide pastoral experience and the close contact with modern people which have marked Dean Montgomery's ministry; while the high level of spiritual insight and the firm grasp of the historic faith save this book from that fault so often found in devotional talks—a kind of vagueness which sometimes is confused with religious discourse. The clergy will find much suggestive and useful material here, for their own sermons and addresses; lay people will profit from its plain talk and its persuasive discussion of that by which we Christians, especially we Anglicans with our strong sacramental stress, really live and work and pray.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

The Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York. By Harry J. Kreider.
New York: United Lutheran Synod, 1949. \$1.00.

This valuable and readable brochure condenses into sixty-six pages a full account of the founding of Lutheranism in New York. The story covers the period from the arrival of the first colonists, until the death of Bernhard Arnzius, the third pastor of the church in New York City, in 1691. It is devoted mostly to that church, now Saint Matthew's at Sherman Avenue and West 204th Street; but traces with less detail the history of the First Lutheran Church in Albany. They were one parish until 1669.

Doctor Kreider is chairman of the committee on documentary history of the United Lutheran Synod of New York. He wrote this essay for the synod in commemoration of the tercentenary of the founding of the Lutheran Church in the colony of New Netherland, in 1649. It stands upon several previous studies, which were derived from original sources: his *Lutheranism in Colonial New York* (1945); "The Oldest Lutheran Church in America," in *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, January, 1945; and his introduction to *The Lutheran Church in New York, 1649-1772*.

The "Notes" reveal Doctor Kreider's intensive study of original documents, particularly the archives of the Old Lutheran Church of Amsterdam, Holland. One of the illustrations is a photograph of a page in the records of that church, regarding the reception of a request for a pastor, from the Lutherans in New York, October 12, 1649. There are several other illustrations, including a view of the church in Amsterdam, and the "Prototype View" of New Amsterdam, published about 1670.

Episcopalians should find special interest in the text of the service used for the ordination of the first pastor, Johannes Gutwasser, in the

Amsterdam church on April 10, 1657; as well as in the Communion rite (prefaced by a preparatory service of absolution), which has features strikingly like our own. Another point of interest is the fact that, after a generation of persecution by the Reformed authorities in New Netherland, the Lutherans received full permission for freedom of worship in 1664, from Richard Nicolls, the first Anglican governor after the conquest of New Netherland from the Dutch. The original, with his signature, is preserved in the archives of Saint Matthew's, and is reproduced in the brochure.

To church people in general, the really significant feature of this work is its poignant story of the Lutherans' struggle for freedom of worship. This is timely, now that men are realizing at what a great price Christ's "little flock" was won this freedom.

NELSON R. BURR.

Library of Congress.

**SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH, ROCK CREEK PARISH,
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

[For Part I. HISTORICAL SKETCH, by Ethel D. Gutridge,
see above, pages 145-157.]

II. HISTORICAL WINDOWS

By Charles W. Wood

The windows of the chancel (which are not shown here) depict the history of the Holy Eucharist beginning with Abel making his offering to God; Abraham offering his son, Isaac, stayed by the hand of an angel; Abraham kneeling before Melchizedek, being offered a sacred cup of wine; a figure of Christ and His Apostles at the Last Supper; St. Paul referring to the Eucharist; and finally the Rev. Robert Hunt holding the first celebration of the Holy Communion at Jamestown, Virginia, 1607.



THE NAVE WINDOWS

The nave windows trace the history of the Episcopal Church in America, and were designed and created by Wilbur Herbert Burnham of Boston, Massachusetts, whose work may be found in many of the great churches in this country.

THE TOWER WINDOW

In memory of

EMMA VICTORIA SMELTZER

This window symbolizes Christ the King, and is the culmination of the historic series.

The majestic figure of Christ, with the crown upon His head, the orb of deity in His left hand, and with the right hand raised in benediction, is silhouetted against a heavenly blue background interspersed with golden crosses.

The words, "Go ye into all the world," is the final message to Christians leaving the church.



FIRST EAST WINDOW

In memory of

LOUISA M. SERPELL DEAKINS

and WILLIAM FRANCIS DEAKINS

The medallion at the top of this window depicts Sir Francis Drake holding the first service of the Church in California in the year 1579. At that spot a rough-hewn wooden cross was planted. Indians, attracted by the singing of the psalms, gathered around the service and are shown in the figures.

The large central medallion depicts the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray in vestments of his time, holding the open Bible. He stands upon a symbolic representation of a wharf, and in the background is woven a ship, land and palm trees, expressing his missionary labor as carried on by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in this and other lands.

In 1700, Dr. Bray came to Maryland as commissary of the bishop of London, under whose nominal jurisdiction the Anglican clergy in the American colonies were placed. Upon his return to England, he was not only instrumental in founding the S. P. G. in 1701, but also aided in the establishment of over forty of the first libraries in this country for the better education of clergy and people. Dr. Bray sent 34,000 religious books and tracts to America.

Through the Society, clergy were supplied to this country and other colonies of England; its Seal is also shown.

The lower medallion, entitled the Act of Establishment, 1692, depicts the State House at St. Mary's City, Maryland. In this building, services of the Church were held, and later the bricks from it were used to build the present parish church nearby.

At the base of the medallion are figures shown building the State House, and symbolizing the labor of our fathers in establishing both the Church and good government in this new land. One worker is shown hewing logs, while two others are grinding shells with which to make plaster or mortar.



SECOND EAST WINDOW

In memory of

CONRAD BECKER and

OLIVIA MARY DEAKINS BECKER

The medallion at the top of this window, beneath the symbol of the Holy Spirit, depicts the Rev. John Fraser preaching in the East Branch Hundred in the year 1712. A daughter church of Old Broad Creek, this became Prince George's Parish in 1719, and later St. Paul's Church, Rock Creek Parish, the oldest Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia.

The large central medallion is the figure of George Washington, Churchman, Patriot and Statesman. A vestryman of the Episcopal Church, a generous contributor to the erection of several, he was one who in his writing and public witness showed himself a Christian leader.

The cherry tree and ax and the Washington coat of arms are in small medallions below, while directly above are the Continental Flag of 1775 and the first official flag of the United States.

The lower medallion depicts the Rev. John Stuart, missionary to the Mohawk Indians. While his ministry was outstanding in this field, it symbolizes also the many others who, learning the language and customs of the Indians, spread the Christian message among them.

Two thunder birds, symbols of the Indians, are shown in small panels below.



THIRD EAST WINDOW

In memory of

THE REV. JAMES ALBERT BUCK, D. D.

The medallion at the top of the window depicts the Rev. Jacob Duché, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, serving as first chaplain of the Continental Congress, with a group of that body at prayer. It symbolizes again the part played by the Church in the founding of this country.

The large central medallion depicts the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury of Connecticut holding the Bible, with the bishop's mitre in the background as well as the thistle, this latter to symbolize Aberdeen, Scotland, the place of his consecration as bishop, November 14, 1784. Bishop Seabury was the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in America, and the first bishop of any church in the United States.

The lower medallion depicts the consecration of Bishop Seabury by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie and Skinner of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The service took place in a chapel on the top floor of Bishop Skinner's home, Aberdeen.



FIRST SOUTH WINDOW

In honor of

THOSE FROM THIS PARISH IN THE SERVICE
OF THEIR COUNTRY

The Church quickly recognized the educational needs of the colonies. Colleges such as William and Mary in Virginia, depicted in the medallion at the top of the window, and Columbia University (formerly King's College) in New York, were established. Schools for the young were conducted by some ninety per cent of the clergy. One of these at Rock Creek Parish was the forerunner of the public schools of the District of Columbia.

The seals of the United States, the Army, the Navy, the Marines and the Coast Guard pay tribute to those in these services from this parish.

The central medallion shows the figure of William White of Pennsylvania who, on February 4th, 1787, together with Samuel Provoost of New York, were consecrated bishops in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, London, England, by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, assisted by other English bishops.

Bishop White presided over the first session of the General Convention of 1789. He was Presiding Bishop from 1795 until his death in 1836. His statesmanship did much to restore the prestige and unity of the Church.

The lower medallion shows Christ Church in Philadelphia. This church was the scene of the General Convention of 1785, of 1786 (first session), and of 1789 (both sessions), which organized the Church in this country—an organization which closely resembles the government of the United States.



SECOND SOUTH WINDOW

The upper medallion depicts the consecration of Thomas John Claggett as first bishop of Maryland on September 17, 1792, by Bishops Provoost, Seabury, White and Madison. This joined the Scottish and English lines of the episcopate, and was the first consecration in this country.

Bishop Claggett later confirmed at Rock Creek Parish, then in the diocese of Maryland.

The "Pentecost" of the Episcopal Church in America has often been set as the year 1811, when those depicted in the central medallion, John Henry Hobart of New York and Alexander Viets Griswold of the Eastern Diocese, were consecrated bishops. The evangelicalism of Griswold, the strong churchmanship of Hobart, and the personal piety of both, gave new life to the Church for years to come.

Symbols of the four evangelists—Matthew, Mark, Luke and John—surround these figures.

With the episcopate better established, with its organization ready, with a devoted laity, the Church was now prepared for the years of expansion ahead.

The lower medallion shows Robert E. Lee, Churchman, Soldier, Educator. Not only in the tragic war years, but even more in the self-sacrificing years of peace which followed, by word and deed, Lee exemplified the Church's faith and practice.



THIRD SOUTH WINDOW

In Memory of

CHARLES WILLS WOOD, SR., and

FRANCES AUSTIN WOOD

The need for trained clergy in an expanding Church was soon felt, and the General Convention of 1817 voted to establish the General Theological Seminary. The Church now has, in addition, ten regional seminaries.

Depicted is the first building erected, which served the entire seminary for almost fifty years, when other buildings were added. This seminary in New York City stands on ground given by Clement Moore, a layman and a professor at the seminary, and the author of the famous "The Night Before Christmas."

The two small medallions symbolize the part the women of the Church have played in the training of children and in Church schools.

The central medallion figure is that of Bishop Jackson Kemper, the first official missionary bishop of the Church, 1835-1859. His jurisdiction covered at one time or another what are now seven states of the West. As the population moved west, so did the Church, sharing the hardships of the people.

Beneath this figure, the two small medallions represent the restoration of monastic orders and sisterhoods.

The lower medallion is the figure of Bishop Schereschewsky, who, arriving in this country as a boy, became in 1877 a missionary bishop to China. He is depicted here with a Chinese assistant and his Japanese secretary, illustrating the growth of the Church in those countries. His great work, completed when able to move but one finger, was the translation of the Bible into Mandarin.



WEST WINDOW

In Memory of

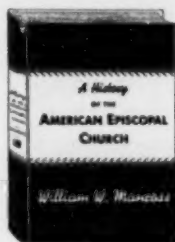
FLORENCE HALL MANN

The medallion at the top of the window depicts the Washington Cathedral through a representation of the College of Preachers. This latter institution, unique in our Church, is devoted to the post-seminary training of our clergy. Its stress is upon the preaching of God's Word, and, over the years, thousands of our clergy have attended its sessions.

The principal figure in the window is that of Bishop Charles Henry Brent (1862-1929), who was popularly called "Everybody's Bishop." Surrounding him is a picture of the Cathedral in the Philippines and a scene indicating his work in the Islands. The lettering recalls his work as bishop of Western New York.

Below Bishop Brent are two small medallions, one indicating his position as chief of chaplains of the A. E. F. of World War I; the other, a ball and cross, indicates his presidency of the International Conference on Opium, held in Shanghai in 1909, and his presidency of the first World Conference on Faith and Order, held in 1927.

The lower medallion symbolizes our Church's stand for reunion with other branches of Christendom. It is called the Lambeth Quadrilateral, and within the flaming cross are symbols signifying the Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the Sacraments, and Holy Orders, as a minimum requirement for eventual reunion.



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By William W. Manross

NEW REVISED EDITION

This history will be found an invaluable one for adult study groups, for teachers' reference, and for seminarians and the clergy. It will provide reliable material for talks on general aspects of American Church history or on special points such as mission work, Church government, or the growth of the Church in various parts of the United States.

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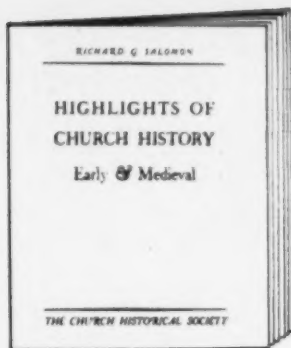
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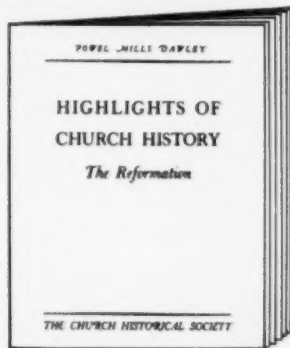
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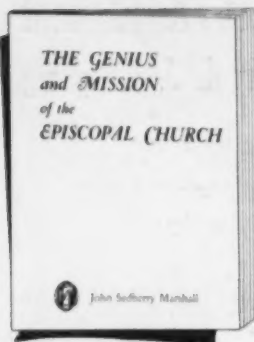
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